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APRIL 1961

Missouri Indian, Oto Indian, Chief of the Puncas

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The State Historical Society of Missouri

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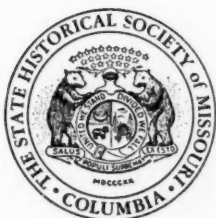
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THE COVER: This illustration is from a painting prepared by Karl Bodmer to illustrate Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834*, of which the Society owns copies of both the original, published in Germany in 1839-1841, and the English translation, printed in London in 1843-1844.

For a discussion of the Missouri Indians, see Robert T. Bray, "The Missouri Indian Tribe in Archaeology and History," in this issue of the *Review*.

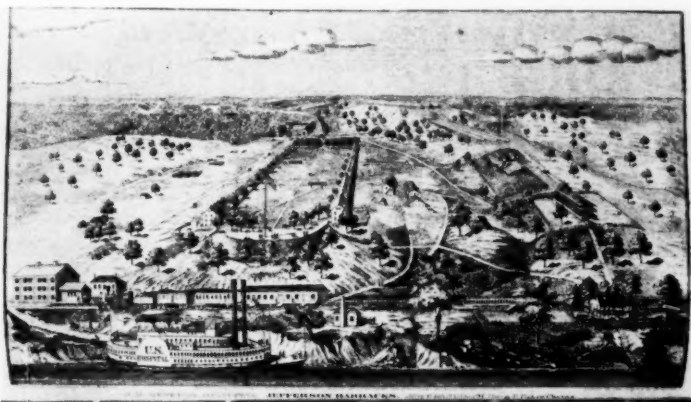
Editorial Note: This issue of the *Review* is the first to be mailed under the Speedomatic addressing system. For further information, please note the explanation following "New Members in the Historical Society."

THE CAMP JACKSON AFFAIR: 1861

BY JAMES W. COVINGTON*

It was on the tenth of May—Kelly's men were all away,
when the Dutch surrounded Camp Jackson
headed by Lyon the Bear with Boernstein and Blair
to take our men from their happy land of Canaan.¹

The seizure of Camp Jackson on the outskirts of St. Louis, which took place approximately 100 years ago, represented one of the most important actions during the entire Civil War in this area. Actually Camp Jackson, the summer training camp for several units of the Missouri Militia, was not much of a military installation, but it stood as a symbolic threat to the Union in Missouri. The key military installation in the St. Louis neighborhood was the arsenal, which held a cache of military supplies greater than any other such establishment in the entire South. Fortunes of the St. Louis arsenal and Camp Jackson, however, were intertwined during this period,



Western Sanitary Commission, 1861

Jefferson Barracks During the Civil War

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¹Taken from the song, *Camp Jackson*, composer unknown, Camp Jackson Box, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

and it is difficult to discuss one without mentioning the other. The purpose of this paper is to sketch briefly the duel between Union and Confederate sympathizers for control of the arsenal and to examine in greater detail the events which took place at Camp Jackson on May 10, 1861.

During the several tense, disturbed months preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, the United States arsenals and forts situated in Confederate and uncommitted states were targets for direct frontal assault and also backstage maneuvering by Southern sympathizers. The 60,000 Springfield and Enfield rifles, 1,500,000 cartridges, 90,000 pounds of powder, and other materials stored in the Federal arsenal at St. Louis seemed to be the key for the control of Missouri and nearby states.² Such a line of reasoning was taken by both pro-Southern and pro-Northern leaders in Missouri during the spring of 1861.

The prime mover and mainstay of the Union movement in St. Louis was 42-year-old Francis Preston Blair. Frank Blair, as he was popularly known, recognized the desperate need for prompt and vigorous action if Missouri were to stay outside the Confederate camp. As leader of the Republican Party in Missouri, he had organized a small force known as the "St. Louis Wide Awakes" to maintain order in public political meetings during the 1860 presidential campaign.³ By late January, 1861, an organization known as the Union Guards had developed from the "Wide Awakes" and was holding secret drills late at night in secluded buildings scattered about the city.

During this period the leaders of the German-American population, friends of the Union and foes of slavery, introduced regular military drill and target practice as part of the gymnastic exercises at the Turnverein Society. They cooperated fully with Blair and his plans, and their numbers swelled the ranks of Blair's groups. Turner Hall was made into a fortress, with barricaded windows and doors and stored supplies of rifles and powder.⁴

On February 6, Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who would play the most important role in the Camp Jackson drama, arrived at the St. Louis arsenal with a force of 80 regulars. He was a devoted

²Mathew Reasoner, "The Old St. Louis Arsenal," unpublished manuscript, 1934, in Camp Jackson Box, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

³James Peckham, *General Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861* (New York, 1866), xii, xiii.

⁴Robert Rombauer, *The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861* (St. Louis, 1909), 129.

abolitionist and a firm supporter of national sovereignty. Their common goal determined that Lyon and Blair should become firm friends, and within a short time the army officer was visiting the various drill rooms and armories and instructing the Union clubs in military discipline and tactics.



Rombauer, The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861

Nathaniel Lyon

Two problems faced the pro-Union leaders during the January-April, 1861, period: inadequate funds for purchase of necessary arms and an unfriendly commander of the arsenal. The arms problem was readily solved with the donation of funds by friends, but control of the arsenal was not easy. The climax to this backstage plotting and maneuvering came when President Lincoln called for 75,000 troops to enforce Federal

law. Governor Claiborne F. Jackson of Missouri would not support Lincoln's request, but in order to secure military strength in the State the War Department directed that the Union clubs be mustered into Federal service, and 2,700 men were enrolled by April 27. Reserve regiments including over 5,000 men were also organized at this time, and a Union force was soon shaped into a proper military posture and prepared for action.

There were several hundred secessionists in St. Louis who had organized into a quasi-military group called the "Minute Men" and held drills at the Berthold mansion, situated at Fifth and Pine streets, and in other parts of the city.⁵ The big opportunity for this outfit came on April 20, 1861, when the leaders planned an attack upon the relatively undefended arsenal. Daniel Taylor, mayor of St. Louis, heard about the scheme and in a last minute midnight talk dissuaded them from making the attack.

The secessionists had received an earlier setback when a State convention met at Mercantile Hall in St. Louis on March 4 to consider Missouri's future relations with the Federal Government. Not a single avowed secessionist was elected as a delegate, and the

⁵Thomas Snead, *The Fight for Missouri* (New York, 1886), 27-29.

pro-Southern group suffered a complete rout when on March 9 the Committee of Thirteen reported that there was "no adequate cause to impell Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union." The convention adopted the committee's findings and adjourned on March 22nd.⁶

On April 15, Brigadier General Daniel M. Frost, commander of the State Militia in the St. Louis area, wrote Governor Jackson that Lyon had greatly strengthened the arsenal by the erection of numerous batteries and earthworks. "If Lyon is allowed to go on," he added, "it will be but a short time before he will have this town and the commerce of the Mississippi at his mercy." Frost then suggested six main points to follow in order to counteract Lyon's work. These points were as follows: Convene the legislature at once; send an agent to the South to secure siege guns and mortars; stop the garrisoning of the arsenal at Liberty, Missouri; proclaim to the people that Lincoln had acted illegally in calling for 75,000 volunteers; authorize Frost to form a military camp of instruction



Harper's Weekly, August 31, 1861

The Arsenal at St. Louis

⁶For a more complete report of the convention see Arthur R. Kirkpatrick, "Missouri On The Eve of the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review*, LV (January 1961), 103-06.

at or near St. Louis; and order Colonel John S. Bowen's command to proceed at once to the said military camp.⁷

The 1860 district encampment of the State Militia had been held at Camp Meriwether Clark, situated on the grounds of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Fair Association (now Fairgrounds Park). Association officials had been most happy to allow the militia use of the fairgrounds, for they served as a deterrent to the vandals who had damaged many booths during the 1859 season. The annual Fire Association report indicates that everyone was well pleased with the encampment:

The encampment convinced all who witnessed it that we have a standing army in our midst, in the Missouri Volunteers, as they gave proof of the highest degree of military skill and discipline and there seemed to be a salutary emulation among the different companies to outdo each other in drill and soldierly accomplishments.⁸

After the summer encampment ended the militia companies returned to their usual routine, which included military drill and use of arms at various spots throughout St. Louis and taking part in public parades.

On May 2, 1861, members of the First Brigade, Missouri Volunteer Militia, received orders to assemble on Monday, May 6th, at 10:00 A.M. and march to the Camp Jackson encampment grounds. They met at their various armories on May 6th and then went to Washington Avenue, forming to the south with their right on Eleventh Street. A large crowd gathered to watch the parade to the encampment. It was not a pleasing sight, for the marchers were bothered by a high wind, much dust, and the presence of many recruits, which caused them to present a poor marching style and ragged ranks.

Arriving at Camp Jackson, the militiamen waited for the baggage which brought up the rear, and on its arrival they pitched the 240 tents. Orders were read, a guard was posted, and the companies were dismissed for refreshment or recreation. The reporter of the *Missouri Democrat* counted 892 men at the camp on the first day.⁹ The commander of the First Regiment was Lieutenant Colonel John Knapp, who had ten companies and a squad of

⁷Printed in "Oration of Charles Drake," Missouri Democrat Printing Company, 1863, 8-9. Camp Jackson Box, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

⁸Report of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association, 1860 (St. Louis, 1860), 11.

⁹St. Louis Missouri Democrat, May 7, 1861.

dragoons in his regiment. Colonel John S. Bowen commanded the Second Regiment, which included nine companies and an engineer corps. Most of the Minute Men joined this unit.

No one could leave camp without written permission of his commanding officer, a guard for each 24 hours was set up, and the camp hours followed those of usual army life:

Reveille at	5.00 A.M.
Police and Surgeon's Call at	5.30 "
Breakfast at	6.00 "
Troop and Guard Mounting at	7.30 "
Dinner Call at	12.00 M.
Retreat Parade at	7.00 P.M.
Supper at	7.30 "
Tattoo at	10.00 "
Taps at	10.30 " ¹⁰

The officers in command of Camp Jackson included: Brigadier General, Daniel Frost; Judge Advocate, Major R. S. Voorhis; Surgeon, Major Joseph Scott; Quartermaster, Major Henry Williams; Head of Commissary, Major N. Wall; Paymaster, Major John Anderson; Aid-de-Camp, Major William Wood.

The encampment was located at Lindell Grove on the western outskirts of St. Louis. Camp Jackson, named in honor of Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, was bounded on the east by what is now Compton Avenue; on the south by present Laclede Avenue; on the west by Grand Avenue; and on the north by Olive Street Road. The guard ended its patrol on the east at present Compton Avenue.¹¹

The present Saint Louis University grounds were heavily timbered woods which were cut down during the Civil War by General A. J. Smith's brigade. The land west of the camp was somewhat higher than the other part, and the small village of Rock Spring, about a mile distant, could be seen from the southwest corner of the camp.

There are some other details concerning the camp which should be noted. The commissary stores and mess houses were located north of Chestnut and about 150 feet east of 35th Street. A creek running through the eastern edge of the camp furnished water for common use. Drinking water was supplied by a spring near the

¹⁰M. Hopewell, *Camp Jackson. The History of the Missouri Volunteer Militia of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1861), 9.

¹¹*St. Louis Republic*, May 12, 1892.

eastern entrance, but barrels of water were also brought from the city. The parade grounds of the camp, located in the northwest corner, include the area now bounded by Chestnut, Laclede, 35th, and Grand. The saloon, where the soldiers did their drinking, was on the north side of Olive Street about 50 feet west of Garrison.¹²

When Camp Jackson was established the people of St. Louis were afraid that an attempt would be made to seize the arsenal. One citizen of St. Louis would not use his horse for fear that it would be hit by a stray bullet. A St. Louis newspaper sought to calm the people with the following words:

But the force at Camp Jackson will not number more than two thousand, one-half of which would never draw a sword or pull a trigger against the Stars and Stripes and no one knows that better than Frost or Jackson. There is, therefore, no danger of an attack upon the arsenal.¹³

Various persons visited Camp Jackson, and it soon became the center of social interests as many a belle decided to see her beau clad in a military uniform. On May 6th the reporter of the *Democrat* visited the camp and was well received by all the officers except Colonel Bowen. When the reporter passed Bowen's section he was hit on the head by someone whom he did not see.

The headquarters of the Minute Men was filled by unemployed laborers who wished to join the militia. A recruiting room on Chestnut near Fifth Street was kept open, and terms of enlistment were posted throughout the city. On May 8th the Southwest Border Battalion, looking very fit, returned to Camp Jackson from its six-month sojourn along the Kansas border.

On Wednesday night, May 8th, the steamer *J. C. Swan* arrived with a load of arms and ammunition from the arsenal at Baton Rouge. Part of the cargo was taken to Camp Jackson, and the rest was sent to Jefferson City under the guard of Captain Joseph Kelly and his men. Rumor reported that the guns had arrived to aid the militia in capturing the city.¹⁴ The camp heard also that it would be attacked by Illinois troops in conjunction with the volunteer regiments of St. Louis, and a common expression around the camp fires was:

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Missouri Democrat*, May 7, 1861.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, May 10, 1861. Lyon, anticipating an attempt to seize the arsenal, distributed part of the arms to the "Wide Awakes" on their incorporation into the Federal service and secretly removed the remainder to Illinois on April 26.

If the United States Regulars attack the camp, I won't lift a finger in resistance, but if the Illinois, Iowa or German troops make the attack, I'm ready for a fight.¹⁵

Camp Jackson was ready for an attack on Thursday night, May 9th, but none came. The drummer boys were kept on the alert all night and were glad when the following morning came.

While the State Militia encampment was in progress Captain Lyon watched the proceedings very carefully. He was suspicious of the gathering from the very beginning and had declared that he would shell the militia if it camped near the arsenal. Lyon told Blair and Franklin Dick on May 7th that he was determined to seize Camp Jackson before the militia was able to attack him. Almost as an act of defiance to him, many boxes of arms seized by the Confederates from the United States Arsenal at Baton Rouge were taken into Camp Jackson the next night.¹⁶

On the afternoon of May 9th Nathaniel Lyon, disguised by the clothes of Mrs. Mira Alexander, Blair's mother-in-law, visited the confines of Camp Jackson so that he might examine the place more closely. In this attire, Lyon, with two Colts under his dress, entered a barouche belonging to Franklin Dick and, with Dick's colored servant, drove into Camp Jackson, being followed by J. J. Witzig in his buggy. Mrs. Alexander had taken many trips about the city in her open carriage, and the sight of her entry into Camp Jackson was not a cause for suspicion. Lyon went throughout the whole camp as visitors were allowed to do and saw it all.

Once outside the camp Lyon directed Witzig to summon the members of the Safety Committee for an immediate meeting at the arsenal. Here Lyon stated that Camp Jackson must be taken at once, for it was a nest of traitors, and any delay would allow General Frost to prepare an effective resistance. Blair, Witzig, O. D. Filley, and James Broadhead agreed with Lyon. Sam Glover pointed out that the flag of the United States floated above the camp and that the encampment had not disturbed the peace. Glover conceded that stolen United States property (the arms from Baton Rouge) was in the camp but said that the way to get the arms was by a *writ of replevin* served by the United States Marshal. If Frost refused to respect the *writ* the Marshal could call upon Lyon for assistance. John How supported Glover's views, but Lyon got the

¹⁵St. Louis Republic, July 26, 1908.

¹⁶The war material could have been seized by the United States Marshal whose duty it was to recover stolen property.

two men to agree with his plan to attack Camp Jackson by telling them that General William S. Harney, commander of the Department of the West, would return soon and no action could be taken at all. It was understood that the United States Marshal should accompany the soldiers, but Lyon did not take him along on May 10, 1861.

Lyon had perfected his plans by the night of May 9, and all the officers knew their roles very well. During that same day Giles F. and O. D. Filley obtained 36 horses for Lyon, signing their own names as security so as not to arouse the suspicions of Major Justus McKinstry, the chief quartermaster of the Department of the West, a man whom they did not trust. These horses were used to pull the guns the next day.

Early in the morning of May 10, 1861, Colonel Blair's First Regiment of Volunteers was ordered to march without delay to the arsenal. The regiment left Jefferson Barracks, located eight miles distant, at eight o'clock and soon arrived at the arsenal, where it was joined by Lyon and two companies of regular troops under Lieutenant Thomas Sweeney. This force went northward on Chouteau Street until it came within sight of Camp Jackson.¹⁷ From here the column advanced to a narrow lane running west of the camp and then moved along the lane to Olive Street. Almost all the Union troops were able to leave their appointed stations at twelve o'clock and arrived at about two o'clock in the afternoon near Camp Jackson.

Other units were assembled in the following fashion: The Second Volunteers, under Henry Boernstein, started from the Marine Hospital, located near the arsenal, and marched along Broadway to Chouteau, following the route of Blair. The Third Volunteers, under Franz Sigel, left the arsenal and marched up Broadway and out Olive to the camp. Sigel was accompanied by six pieces of artillery, which occupied some elevated land east and north of the camp. The Fourth Volunteers, under Nicholas Schuettner, started from the arsenal in company with the Third but branched off on Market Street and followed Market and Laclede to the southeastern end of the camp. Various reserve units were placed in position to support the main offensive.¹⁸ A grand total of at least 6,000 men surrounded the camp, and on account of this overwhelming force the issue was never in doubt.

¹⁷Rombauer, *The Union Cause*, 226-27.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 227.

The news that the Union soldiers were marching upon the camp spread quickly through the entire city. General Frost learned of the attack and hastily dispatched a letter to Lyon:

I am constantly in receipt of information that you contemplate an attack upon my camp, whilst I understand that you are impressed with the idea that an attack upon the arsenal and United States troops is intended on the part of the militia of Missouri. I am greatly at a loss to know what could justify you in attacking citizens of the United States, who are in the lawful performance of duties devolving upon them under the Constitution in organizing and instructing the militia of the State.¹⁹

Colonel Bowen delivered Frost's message to Lyon, who was leading the approaching troops, but Lyon declined to read it. When Lyon had surrounded his objective he sent a note to Frost stating that his camp was hostile toward the Government of the United States and full of Confederate war supplies and giving Frost one-half an hour in which to surrender. Before 30 minutes had expired Frost asked for more time and a conference. Lyon saw a large crowd gathering about the camp and answered on the back of Frost's note that unless an unconditional surrender was made in ten minutes he would open fire. -

Surrounded by a force eight times the size of the militia, Frost was in no position to resist. The State of Missouri had not supplied him with sufficient war material, and the arms from Baton Rouge were not unpacked from their crates.²⁰ Critics later attacked Frost for not retreating and removing the conflict from the city, but he had no provisions or transportation or credit with which he might procure them. Over 300 men in camp were without blankets, each man had only five rounds of ammunition, and much of the ammunition did not fit the muskets. Many members of the Missouri Militia were not in camp, for they had obtained half-day leaves in the morning so that they could bring their friends from St. Louis to see the grand drill and dress parade scheduled for that afternoon.

The militiamen became excited upon seeing the Union troops but kept up a brave front. Captain George W. West ordered his men to fall in for drill and to pay no attention to the Union soldiers. Colonel John Knapp, noting the approach of the soldiers, wrote his wife:

¹⁹*Missouri Republican*, May 11, 1861.

²⁰*Ibid.*, May 14, 1861.

We have received reliable information that there is a large force on the way here. We await their arrival. When we will make no resistance to their demands if they come. I will be home tonight. Do not speak of this.²¹

The officers of the camp conferred and, realizing the hopelessness of the situation, decided to surrender. Frost wrote a note to Lyon saying that he had never for the moment conceived the idea that so illegal and unconstitutional a demand as he had received from Lyon would be made by an officer of the United States Army. He added that he was wholly unprepared to defend his command and had to surrender.

Captain West of the Missouri Militia addressed his men in the following words:

Men, this camp is to be surrendered to General Lyon and we with it as prisoners of war. We are to be marched to the United States arsenal tonight, and after that God alone knows what disposition will be made of us. Leave your private property as it is, not to be molested. . . . Pack your property as closely as possible and leave it in your tents. Fall in on the parade ground as soon as possible.²²

Many members of the Missouri Militia protested against surrender without a fight. Some escaped by hiding in the crowd, and at least two men avoided capture by trading attire with civilians. The officers were allowed to keep their sidearms but, due to a misunderstanding, some items were taken from them. One officer gave his sword to a stranger in the crowd and told the man to keep it for him. Colonel Knapp broke his beautiful sword by hitting and wedging it against an iron fence.²³

The captured men were offered a parole if they would take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and swear not to take up arms against the Government. Although all the men were offered these terms, only eight or ten accepted. The others said that they had already sworn allegiance to the United States and to defend the Government and claimed that repetition of the pledge would be to admit that they were in rebellion.

²¹John Knapp to wife, May 10, 1861, John Knapp Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

²²*St. Louis Republic*, July 26, 1908.

²³Pieces of this sword may be seen on display at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

During the surrender the militia men stacked their arms and passed between the files of the First Volunteers. The easy surrender had been a surprise to Lyon, and no system for escorting the prisoners to a place of confinement had been provided. Everyone stood about, waiting, and the delay enabled the crowd to play its part in the drama at Camp Jackson.

On hearing about the troop movement toward the encampment many persons had rushed to Camp Jackson, coming in carriages, buggies, rail cars, baggage wagons, on horseback, and on foot. "Numbers of men seized rifles, shot guns, or whatever weapons they could lay hands upon, and rushed pell-mell to the assistance of the State Troops."²⁴ The hills west of the camp were covered with people, many of whom had brought their lunches.

The preparations for the surrender of the camp had taken about one and one-half hours, and the line of prisoners, headed by General Frost and his staff on horseback, was stalled on Olive Street for an



Harper's Weekly, June 1, 1861

Corner Scene During the Excitement at St. Louis

²⁴Missouri Republican, May 11, 1861.

inexcusable length of time. Trouble developed when members of the crowd began to shout "Hurrah for Jeff Davis," "Damn the Dutch," and other sulphurous phrases. Clods of dirt were thrown at the Union soldiers. Olive Street had been recently macadamized, and rocks were taken from its surface to be thrown at the men in blue, and several shots were also fired. At this point the story becomes confused. One contemporary account states that:

The first firing was some half-dozen shots near the head of the column, composed of the First Regiment which was guarding the prisoners. It occurred in this wise: The artillery were stationed upon the bluff north east of Camp Jackson; with their pieces bearing on the camp. The men of this command were insultingly treated by the mob . . . pelted with stones, until one of the mob discharged a revolver at the men. At this they fired but no more than six shots . . . to disperse that portion of the mob. . . . None of the First Regiment fired. . . . One fired at Lieutenant Saxton until he was bayoneted. . . . Saxton's command passed on, and a company in his rear became the object of a furious attack from the mob. After several of them were shot, they came to a halt and fired with fatal effect. The mob in retreating from both sides of the line, returned the fire and the troops replied again. The command was given by General Lyon to cease firing, and the order was promptly obeyed as rapidly as it could be passed along the line.²⁵

Another version of the shooting came from Captain West of the Missouri Militia. He said that his men had been halted on Olive Street about 250 yards from the terminus of the Olive Street railroad at Garrison Avenue. He was certain that the first shots were fired from a hill nearby and not by the artillerymen as was reported. According to West there were some German soldiers on the hill who were abused by the crowd until they fired some 30 shots at it.

Two writers who present a similar account of the first firing state that the crowd fired several shots at the Third Regiment until Captain F. C. Blandovski was mortally wounded. As Blandovski was falling he gave the order to fire upon the mob.²⁶ Blandovski was the only Union soldier killed in the shooting. Another soldier

²⁵Peckham, *Lyon and Missouri*, 154.

²⁶See Rombauer, *Union Cause*, 233-38, and Peckham, *Lyon and Missouri*, 155. Blandovski was a Polish nobleman.

was reported as a fatality, but his name is not mentioned in any available record.

Regardless of how the firing started, it was a terrible event. The minie balls tore great holes in the flesh of their victims. "Men lay gasping in the agony of death, and staining the green grass with their blood as it flowed from their wounds. Children of eight or ten years of age were pale and motionless as if asleep under the trees."²⁷ The fatalities totaled 28, and the number of wounded could not be estimated accurately for many were taken to their homes immediately after the shooting. All reports agreed that the soldiers of the regular army did not fire a shot at the crowd.

When the firing commenced the large crowd began running in all directions, and many people fell to the ground in order to protect themselves. General William Sherman, who witnessed the affair, said that a drunken man had started the firing by shooting at the soldiers.²⁸ When the troops returned the fire, Sherman dropped to the ground. He later pointed out that the great part of the crowd was composed of curious spectators and the only abuse of the soldiers was a few shouts of "Hurrah for Jeff Davis." Another



Harper's Weekly, June 1, 1861

U. S. Volunteers Clash With the Mob in St. Louis

²⁷*Missouri Republican*, May 11, 1861.

²⁸William T. Sherman, *Memoirs*, I (New York, 1886), 201.

future Union general, Ulysses S. Grant, watched the soldiers march from the arsenal but did not see the shooting affair.²⁹

When all firing had ceased the column of prisoners, led by the color guard, moved toward the arsenal. After making the ignoble trek to the place where they would be incarcerated, their fifers tried to buoy up the militiamen's spirits by playing *Yankee Doodle* as they entered the enclosure.

A serious housing problem was now created for the occupants of the relatively small arsenal and enclosed grounds. One section of men was lodged in the garret of a big stone building and had to sleep on straw spread on the floor. The men were so tightly packed in this room that they had to sleep with their legs spread apart and provide a space for a man to rest his head. The prisoners were not given food or drink, and they would soon agree with Sherman's future statement concerning war.

In contrast, the officers were better treated. The regular army officers tried to make them as comfortable as possible and gave up their own beds to the prisoners. When the officers of the First Brigade of the Missouri Militia heard reports that they had been mistreated they gave a story to the *Missouri Republican* telling about the attention they received.³⁰

Captain Sweeney with 30 regulars was left in charge of the spoils of Camp Jackson. According to the inventory compiled by the captain and his men the following equipment was discovered in the camp:

Three thirty-two pounders.

Three mortar-beds.

A large quantity of balls and bombs in ale barrels.

Artillery pieces in boxes of heavy planks.

Twelve hundred rifles of late model, United States manufacture.

Tents and camp equipment.

Six brass field-pieces.

Twenty-five kegs of powder.

Three iron cannon, six inches.

Three hundred six-inch bomb shells.

Forty horses.

²⁹Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II (New York, 1885), 235.

³⁰*Missouri Republican*, May 14, 1861.

A very large number of musket stocks and musket barrels; together with lots of bayonets, bayonet scabbards, etc.³¹

St. Louis was a highly emotional city on the evening of May 10th, 1861. All the most frequented streets and avenues were filled with people in the highest stage of excitement. J. R. Barret and Major Uriel Wright addressed a large crowd in front of the Planter's House, and several other speeches were delivered at different points in the city.

Many people in St. Louis left their homes because they were afraid of being murdered by the "Dutch." Some fled to the river front, and at least two or three steamers were filled by the refugees. Draymen made much money that night by charging the frantic persons more than their usual fee. Scores of others left St. Louis in whatever vehicle they could find.

There were other signs of a nervous and tension filled populace in the frightened city. All the saloons and restaurants were closed by their proprietors when dusk approached; the windows of private dwellings were fastened in fear of a riot; and theaters that night had a very poor attendance. Crowds of armed men carrying banners rushed through the principal streets spreading the alarm. The gun store of H. E. Dimick, located on Main Street, was invaded by the mob, and 15 or 20 guns were taken before Chief of Police James McDonough reached the store with 20 armed policemen.

Squads of police were placed at several popular street corners, and the offices of the *Missouri Democrat* and the *Anzeiger des Westens* were placed under guard. A group of seven or eight police officers assigned to the *Democrat* was joined by an equal number of citizens that had heard the news of a mob on its way to wreck the newspaper offices. A crowd composed of several thousand persons armed with stones rushed toward the guard which had formed a line across Locust Street from building to building and stopped only when the defenders were about to fire. Many in the mob had bolstered their courage with whiskey, but on seeing the show of strength the tipsy men decided they needed some more fortifying and turned back; the *Democrat* was saved.³² That episode, except for the killing of three men of German extraction, closed the activities for one of the most eventful days in the history of St. Louis.

³¹Peckham, *Lyon and Missouri*, 160.

³²W. G. Fay to Isaac Sturgeon, May 11, 1861, Sturgeon Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

THE MISSOURI INDIAN TRIBE IN ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

BY ROBERT T. BRAY*

The University of Missouri Archaeological Research Center and Field School in Van Meter State Park, Saline County, was established in 1959 as a joint venture of the University and the Missouri State Park Board. Excavations, which progress each summer from June through August, and special exhibitions may be observed by visitors on weekends and holidays during the summer months. The research center is located twelve miles north of Marshall and may be reached from there via highways 41 and 122.

In northern Saline County, in the great bend of the Missouri River, stands a prominent range of low, broken hills known as the Pinnacles. Rising abruptly from the flat river valley, they may be seen for a distance of several miles and are a dominant feature of the landscape. The slopes and hilltops, except where cultivated, are heavily timbered today, a fact which seems to be directly related to farming methods and other activities of men during the past 100 years. Most



Photo by author

The Pinnacles

authorities agree that less than 150 years ago all except the lowest slopes were treeless and covered with tall grass.

The Pinnacles consist in large part of extensive deposits of a wind-deposited soil known as loess which ranges in depth from a few feet to more than 100. The soil has been eroded into a series of steep sided ravines, precipitous slopes, and rounded knobs. An early description of the area states:

The Pinnacles are a range of high river bluffs, rising abruptly from the Missouri River, just above the town of Miami, . . . Of the range of the Pinnacles there are several bluff hills, having different names, such as the "Devil's Back-bone," "Sugar Loaf," "Potato Hill," etc. The "Devil's Back-bone" is a high, bold bluff, one hundred and fifty feet high, running from north to

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south, and situated just at the turn or end of the river bottom, known as the Laynesville bottom. The top of this pinnacle is a ridge, something like a hay-rick in shape, its rugged appearance and its back-bone similitude giving it its name.¹

These bluffs diminish gradually in height and finally merge below the town of Malta Bend with the prairie known to the French as the Petite Osage or Little Osage Plain. The term has since been Anglicized to "tetesaw."

For many centuries prior to 1500 the Pinnacles and the nearby grassy, swampy prairies were traversed by Indian hunters. For long periods, though not continuously, these areas had been the scene of Indian encampments and of the universal drama of birth, life, and death. Over the centuries the hills became liberally sprinkled with remains of their small villages, their everyday tools and weapons, and earthen mounds which covered their dead. The land, swamps, and river were bountiful, and the Indians returned again and again as the years passed.

About 1500 a powerful group of Indians came into the Great Lakes area, probably from the southeast. They seem to have been restless and warlike, and more or less constantly in trouble with their neighbors. Possibly they were at this time organized into a unit which we would call a tribe but, if so, we have no idea of its name. These people built their villages at several locations in the present states of Illinois, Wisconsin, and possibly Michigan. Some liked the lake country and decided to remain. Here Jean Nicolet, the French explorer, encountered them in 1634 at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and they became known to history as the Winnebago. Restlessness forced some of the Indians westward to and beyond the Mississippi, and their numbers were further reduced when some took residence in the fertile river valleys in Northeast Iowa and Southeast Minnesota. These people were discovered in 1685 by Nicholas Perrot, a French trader, who was responsible for recording in history the name, Ioway.²

The remainder of the original groups proceeded southward and finally, at a time that we may guess to be during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, reached the mouth of what we believe to be the Grand River in North Central Missouri. Here another separation occurred, and a third division of the original unit

¹*History of Saline County, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1881), 113-14.

²Mildred Mott, "The Relation of Historic Indian Tribes to Archeological Manifestations in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXXVI (July 1938), 236-37.

went westward up the Missouri and became known as the Oto. The remaining group of Indians seems to have lived for a time near the mouth of the Grand; but they were still dissatisfied and, for reasons that we cannot tell, they also turned westward up the Missouri River, probably following the same route that the Oto had taken. But this time the trip was short. This group approached the prominent row of grassy hills now called the Pinnacles, ascended the bluffs, and built their village on the summits. These were the Missouri.³

We may imagine that the Missouri were happy here, and for many years they lived amid the bounties of nature, hunting buffalo and deer, fishing in the river and swamps, tending their crops, and carrying on the other activities prescribed by habit and custom. They became numerous, powerful, and perhaps rich by Indian standards of the day. But the last quarter of the seventeenth century was approaching, and portentous events were taking place hundreds of miles to the north of which the Missouri knew nothing but which would change their lives and finally contribute to their destruction.

In 1673 two Frenchmen, a Jesuit missionary, Father Jacques Marquette, and an explorer, Louis Jolliet, traveled down the



Research Center Collection

Adult Training Session in Archaeology, July, 1960

³The migration legend of the Winnebago, Ioway, Missouri, and Oto tribes, collectively called the Chiwere Sioux, is here stated in very general terms. The findings of archaeology, history, ethnology, and linguistics all tend to agree that something on this order took place.

Mississippi River to near the mouth of the Arkansas. This voyage carried them past the mouth of the Missouri River, and somewhere along the route they learned of a tribe living up the river Pekitanoui (Missouri) which their Indian informers called, or which became in Marquette's phonetic translation, Messourit. This is the first historical reference to the tribe of Indians known as the Missouri.⁴ Although the map on which the name Messourit appears is crudely drawn, it locates them approximately in the area where extensive remains of the tribe are found today.

It is uncertain when these people first saw a European. That the first was a Frenchman can hardly be doubted. They seem to have been on friendly terms with the French before 1612, as Missouri warriors helped the French break the siege by Fox and Iroquois Indians at Fort Detroit in that year. On their return to Missouri they were accompanied by a young French officer, Etienne Veniard de Bourgmond, who is said to have lived among them for some five years.⁵ Later, in 1723, de Bourgmond, after a brief period in France, returned to the Missouri country to build and command a military post, Fort Orleans, on the Missouri River near the village of the Missouri.

Fort Orleans (1723-1728), the first European post on the Missouri, was beset with administrative difficulties from time to time and was never very successful from the commercial standpoint. Militarily it may have contributed indirectly in minimizing Spanish incursions from the Southwest into the central and upper Great Plains. Nevertheless, the order to abandon Fort Orleans came in late 1727, and presumably this was effected in the early spring of 1728.⁶

It is not now known whether Fort Orleans, a sizeable establishment, disintegrated with time or whether it was burned by Indians unfriendly to the Missouri and the French. Today the exact site of the fort is unknown, although enough documentary evidence exists to make the discovery of its ruins entirely possible. That Fort Orleans played a portentous role in the lives of the Missouri is a certainty. While their way of life was perhaps not significantly

⁴See "The Marquette Map of 1673-1674," in Sara Julia Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Atlas (Springfield, 1942), 1, 2, 5.

⁵Henri Folmer, "Etienne Veniard de Bourgmond in the Missouri Country," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXVI (April 1942), 279-98.

⁶Gilbert J. Garraghan, "Fort Orleans of the Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXV (April 1941), 373-84.

altered at the time, their traffic with the French was the first major event in the chain which led to eventual dissolution of the tribal life.

Archaeological findings at the great Pinnacles village, commonly called the Utz site after the name of the landowner, William Utz, lend credence to the idea that as early as 1724 the Missouri were trading at the nearby French outpost. The nature of the items found at the old Indian village shed some surprising light on trade relationships in the early historical period. It might be reasonably expected that several years of friendly relationship between the French and Missouri would have resulted in a considerable exchange of goods. It might also be expected that such an exchange would be manifest in the material objects recovered from the living sites of both participants, particularly the less advanced. Although French trade items have been found scattered over a wide area at the Missouri village site, they are of the kind carried most frequently by the earlier French *voyageurs* and, very probably, those which were traded or given the Indians for as long a period as they would accept them. If our contention that the Utz site was occupied by the Missouri from before 1673 to 1728 is true, there is suggested a considerably reserved French attitude toward trading anything of much intrinsic value. This was particularly true with respect to those items, such as guns, which could be turned against them in war. The trade objects found at the Utz site are practically confined to ornaments: glass beads, brass ear ornaments, copper and brass for rings and beads, and a brass finger ring with the Latin inscription "IHS" and a cross on the front of an oval signet. Such rings, often called "Jesuit rings," were undoubtedly carried by members of other religious orders and presumably by some explorers and traders. Even so, it is likely that this ring, together with some of the baubles of glass and copper, were distributed to the Indians by the French at Fort Orleans.

Knowing the Indian demand for the white man's goods, we would naturally expect the remains at an Indian town to reflect the status of trade and offer important clues as to when the site was occupied. The absence at the Utz site of metal knives and axes, gun parts, and copper and iron kettle fragments indicates that the Missouri did not remain at their village much after the abandonment of Fort Orleans in 1728, because after that time utilitarian trade items became increasingly available. As a matter of fact, the

abandonment of Fort Orleans may have been the impetus which induced the Missouri to leave their home on the Pinnacles and move upstream to a new site located near a village of Osage Indians. This was nearly 50 years before the tenure of the Missouri in the State came to an end, but already there were hints of tragedy in the wind.

Among the many disasters which transpired during the 375-year push of the white man toward the west, few were more pathetic than those which befell the Missouri. From a vigorous and proud tribe conservatively estimated at 1,000 or more families in 1703, it was reduced to a pitiful remnant of 30 families in 1804.⁷ Two major reasons have been given for the decline and fall of the Missouri: disease and war. We may well believe, however, that there was a third reason, the general though slow breakdown of tribal customs which resulted from relations with the white man.

The business of hit-and-run warfare seems to have been an established social pattern of longstanding among the Missouri. One authority has stated that their enemies were apparently almost synonymous with their neighbors.⁸ Some ancient grievances appear to have followed them from their ancestral homeland, for as they emerged into history they were at war with the Sauk and Fox tribes of the Upper Mississippi region. In the old days the Missouri could hold their own against the Sauk and Fox and other enemies, but now when the war had been carried to Missouri the Missouri found themselves at a disadvantage. Both Sauk and Fox had known the French for years and had probably managed to acquire some superior weapons, including guns. The general disadvantage of the Missouri apparently increased each time a clash occurred. We cannot say how frequently battles took place, but we can be reasonably certain that they gradually increased in severity so far as the Missouri were concerned. This was particularly true after 1770 when the Spanish at St. Louis enlisted the aid of the Sauk and Fox against the Missouri and French.⁹ Presumably the Spanish supplied their allies with guns to supplement those which they already had. It is reasonable to suppose that the Missouri were anxious to equip themselves with guns, too. Yet gun parts, except for flints, are not found on their village at Gumbo Point, a few miles upstream near

⁷J. Brewton Berry, "The Missouri Indians," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XVII (September 1936), 1.

⁸*Ibid.*, 11.

⁹Carl H. Chapman, "The Little Osage and Missouri Indian Village Sites, Ca. 1727-1777 A. D.," *The Missouri Archaeologist*, XXI (December 1959), 2-4.

Fort Orleans, even though they occur in abundance at the nearby Osage village. It is difficult to believe that any Spanish plot to keep guns out of Missouri hands could have been this effective. Why the Missouri moved from their Pinnacles village to the one at Gumbo Point, then, is something of a mystery, and why their fortunes continued to decline amid the relative affluence of their erstwhile friends, the Little Osage, is stranger still. These factors, however, seem to have hastened the end of Missouri influence. Some time before the turn of the nineteenth century the Missouri suffered their greatest defeat by the Sauk and Fox, a decisive blow which evidently

damaged severely their will to resist, and the tribe became disorganized. Some remained with the Osage, but others left the State and joined their kinsmen, the Oto and the Kansa, who were living in present Kansas and Nebraska.¹⁰

To the Missouri there came repeatedly a scourge more devastating than war and certainly one that they feared more. This was the dreaded smallpox.



U. of Mo. Anthropology Collection

**Two-handled Pottery Vessel With
Incised Decorations**

There is no known record of the

first incidence of this disease among them, but it could have come while they still lived in their village on the Pinnacles. We do know that it struck terror in the Indian heart wherever it appeared, whether among the Missouri or some other tribe. Epidemics among those who had no natural immunity were swift and deadly. The Indians knew how to deal with human enemies, but they could not understand the raging fever and ugly pocks. George Catlin, the famous painter of Indian life, has left an eloquent description of the Mandan Indian reaction to smallpox:

Terror and dismay are carried with it; and awful despair, in the midst of which they plunge into the river when in the highest state of fever, and die in a moment; or dash themselves from precipices; or plunge their knives to their hearts, to rid themselves from the pangs of slow and disgusting death.¹¹

¹⁰John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Bulletin No. 145 of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1952), 270.

¹¹Berry, "The Missouri Indians," *S. S. Q.*, XVII, 7.

Weakened from disease in both body and spirit, the Missouri never recovered from their greatest defeat at the hands of the Sauk and Fox. Even though a certain degree of tribal reorganization was achieved by those who moved northwest to the territory of the Oto, their number continued to decline, and by 1910 only 13 remained.¹² By 1930 their identity was gone, and no Missouri of pure ancestry is alive today.

As the Missouri have been known to history since 1673 it would seem that we should be generally aware of them as a people rather than as shadowy figures flitting across the pages of history. Surely someone among the Frenchmen at Fort Orleans observed this important Indian tribe and left a careful account of it. But if this did not happen, what of the many contacts which occurred between the Missouri and literate people in later years before their ancient ways were appreciably changed? The present day historian and archaeologist thus far has searched the records in vain for such accounts. Most of the information we have was recorded after 1800, when the ancient ways were falling into disuse and when some social usages had merged with those of other Indians and the white man. There are, however, ways to gain an insight into the lives of the Missouri, and one important way remains a challenge for the present and future—that of archaeology.

Let us examine our knowledge of the Missouri and how it will be possible to make significant contributions to the story in future work.

There are few illustrations of the Missouri drawn from life which are yet extant. A good likeness of a Missouri brave by Karl Bodmer, a nineteenth century recorder of Plains Indian life, depicts a powerfully built individual with sharply defined, rather noble-looking features, although with a slightly downcast appearance. The hair is arranged with a scalplock, a sort of modified roach in which most of the hair was cut or plucked over all the scalp except that in a narrow band beginning near the top of the head and extending to near the nape of the neck. The lobes of the ears are distended and festooned with strings of numerous beads, some shaped like the cones or spangles of copper which are frequently found on the Pinnacles village. Several strands of beads encircle the neck, and a trader's blanket is over the left shoulder and held to the chest by the left arm.¹³

¹²Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 270.

¹³See illustration on front cover.

Of their general appearance we know little else, but we can say that there is opportunity to learn more of this through archaeological work. The Missouri were close relatives of the Winnebago, Ioway, and Oto tribes, spoke the same language, and their archaeological remains are remarkably similar.

Archaeology can speak surely and precisely regarding the food-gathering activities of the Missouri. Excavations on the Pinnacles have shown that they dug numerous, large, and deep pits in the rock-free soil and in them stored corn, beans, squash, and pumpkin, as well as wild products such as walnuts, pecans, hickory and hazel nuts, pawpaws, plums, grapes, and hackberry seeds. Most of the pits were used secondarily for the deposit of refuse; after a storage pit had become damaged, wet, or infested with vermin, the people dumped trash, and lost tools and ornaments, in them. The contents of these many pits, well preserved today, prove that these people were also hunters and fishermen. The bones of animals, often split open or charred and with knife marks still upon them, are found in large quantities. The Indians singled out in particular the bison (buffalo) and deer and also took smaller mammals, gar, and sturgeon.

It is likely that the Missouri after the fashion of the Osage and some other tribes secured most of their big game on annual winter hunts of several month's duration. During such hunts their village was probably almost devoid of able-bodied men. The hunters returned home in early spring in time for preparation of the ground for summer crops and to participate in certain ceremonies.

The great bulk of material objects made and used by the Missouri were concerned directly or indirectly with their ways of earning a living. The principal weapons of the hunt were the bow and arrow and the stone-headed club. Arrow points were, with a few exceptions, small, triangular in shape, and chipped from flint. The heads of mauls or hammers were of stone, round or slightly elongated in shape, with a groove around the middle for attaching a wooden handle. The chipped flint axe with two opposite notches in the edges for attaching a handle was commonly used, as was the smoothed and ungrooved axe or celt. Stone knives of oval or diamond shape were used both in the hunt and in the household. Small flint scrapers were very common and served principally in the dressing of hides.

The Missouri were accomplished potters, and fragments of their many vessels are among the most common finds at the Utz site. Other tools and weapons collected include the stone mortar and

pestle for grinding corn and seeds and for crushing mineral paints; the bone awl, punch, and needle; the sandstone arrow shaft smoother; shell spoons; hoes made from buffalo shoulder blades; and various other items.

The houses of the Missouri are relatively unknown. No remains of dwellings have yet been discovered at the town on the Pinnacles. At the town site at Gumbo Point, part of a pattern of post molds was excavated which makes it appear that at least one type of house used by the Missouri was rectangular and rather long, similar to the "long houses" used by some Eastern tribes.¹⁴ The Gumbo Point find, however, is only one incomplete instance, and it is entirely possible that this was a town house or other public building. It seems more likely, in view of the lack of finds to the contrary, that the houses were fragile structures such as the oval-shaped, bark-covered wigwam which left little impression on the ground. Perhaps this problem can be solved with research at the Pinnacles village where a sizable portion has remained relatively undamaged by farming activities.



Research Center Collections

Chipped Stone Knives, Arrow Points, and Hide Scrapers

¹⁴Chapman, "The Little Osage and Missouri Indian Village Sites," *M. A.*, XXI, 1, 9.

As with many primitive people clothing did not seem to be a prime consideration. There are no early historical references to the Missouri mode of dress, but a note in the Lewis and Clark journals of 1804 indicates that the men wore only breech clouts and blankets or buffalo robes.¹⁵ It has been said that primitive man may be unclothed, but he is never unadorned. This is, perhaps, a close approximation of the truth. Popular belief in the Indians' love for beads and other baubles is well substantiated by both historical and archaeological research. Finds made at the Pinnacles village show that the Missouri wore wristlets of bone and of strung copper tubes; ankle bracelets of rolled sheet copper; necklaces of shell, copper, brass, and glass beads; and ear ornaments of coiled copper or brass wire resembling screen door springs. The Ioway, hence possibly the Missouri, also occasionally made wide belts or "girdles" of strung copper tubes, employed other copper tubes several inches long as hair ornaments, and sometimes wore oddly shaped copper ornaments resembling birds and crosses.¹⁶

We know distressingly little of Missouri social organization. It has been established historically that the tribe was divided into a number of clans, each named for an animal or bird and each presumably under a clan chief who was theoretically, if not actually, subservient to one or more chiefs of the tribe.¹⁷ The clans among the Winnebago and possibly among the Missouri were grouped into two divisions, the chief purpose of which was to reckon descent, which was through the father, and to regulate marriage, which had to take place outside one's own clan and clan grouping. The immediate or conjugal family was an integral feature, as it is with practically all peoples.

History fails to resolve other aspects of the Missouri's social organization, religion, folklore, prehistoric trade relationships, transportation, village plan, or mortuary customs. Archaeology, particularly that which will be carried out at the Pinnacles village, seems to hold out great promise in helping to solve several of these problems. For example, the occurrence of catlinite, the red semi-magical stone so highly prized for tobacco pipes, at the Utz site proves trade relationships with the Southwest Minnesota area where the peculiar stone occurs. Shells of the conch or marine whelk, used

¹⁵Berry, "The Missouri Indians," *S. S. Q.*, XVII, 10.

¹⁶Robert T. Bray, "The Flynn Cemetery, An Orr Focus Oneota Burial Site in Allamakee County, Iowa" (1961), unpublished typescript in possession of author.

¹⁷Berry, "The Missouri Indians," *S. S. Q.*, XVII, 10.

for ornaments and in religious or magical ceremonies by the Missouri, show that they were acquainted with peoples who frequented the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Stones which do not appear to be native to the home region were also used.

In general the Missouri must have covered considerable distances on foot. They may have had boats, as they were said to have been



Sam C. Irvine Coll.

Ceremonial Pipe of Catlinite

traveling in canoes on the Missouri River when they suffered their greatest defeat. They did not know the horse, at least not until near the end of the eighteenth century. The remains of dogs are found at the Pinnacles village, and the Missouri may have employed them, as some Plains tribes did, to pull light loads on the travois. This, of course, was in addition to the

dog's regular role as scavenger and pet.

It will be possible to learn through archaeology a great deal about the Missouri's funeral customs and, by inference, of their religious and magical beliefs, the possible existence of social classes, their physical appearance, and some of the diseases with which they were afflicted. Human burials seem to be among the most common findings at the Utz site. Many have been found, and many others will be located in the future. From the great body of information that will be gathered over the years from this source, it will be possible for physical anthropologists to study the skeletal material and come up with quite positive statements concerning the overall appearance of the people in life. We shall be able to tell their average height; the relative numbers of men, women, and children; and the age of individuals at death. Pathologists can recognize evidences of several different diseases, as well as accidents or intentional violence, from a study of the bones. Archaeologists can sometimes recognize the social status of the individual by the amount and kinds of offerings included with the remains. The entire or overall burial pattern when finally established will undoubtedly aid in reconstructing the village plan as a part of the complete story.

The University of Missouri's archaeological research center and field school now located permanently at the Missouri village Utz

site on the Pinnacles will have the task of solving some of these problems in the years to come. In addition to archaeological research and student training, there is an expanding program of interpretation designed to acquaint the public with some of the fundamentals of archaeology and to help keep it abreast of new discoveries. College students will learn field and research techniques here each summer, and each winter the data gathered during the summer will be analyzed and made meaningful in terms of everyday experience.

The story of the Missouri, then, is not yet finished. There lies ahead the opportunity, in archaeological research, for enriching the story, for adding entirely new facets to it, and for clearing up many lesser but important points which are now unclear. The future of the Missouri belongs to archaeology.

ARTHUR M. HYDE: ARTICULATE ANTAGONIST

BY ROBERT P. FRIEDMAN*

Arthur M. Hyde gave distinguished service to his State and Nation in executive and administrative capacities. Wherever he served, his audacious advocacy furthered his career and his programs and earned for him a deserved reputation for distinguished public speaking.

On the occasion of Hyde's death in 1947 *Time* magazine's brief obituary captured the essence of the man:

Arthur Mastick Hyde, 70, tart-tongued Secretary of Agriculture under Hoover (1929-33), second Republican Governor of Missouri (1921-25), lifelong Prohibitionist; of cancer, in Manhattan.¹

Scarcely a courthouse Republican 50 years of age or older exists in Missouri today but can talk at length of Hyde and his speech-making. They recall with relish Hyde's audacity in his successful quest for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1920. Having bolted the party in 1912, only to return in 1916, Hyde did not figure to beat E. E. E. "Triple E" McJimsey, a party workhorse of many years, a thoroughgoing regular, a man who deserved the party's favor. One writer summed up Hyde's chances when he said he was "doomed for slaughter."²



Friedman, "Arthur M. Hyde"

Arthur M. Hyde

To make matters worse prohibition was a factor and Hyde was a well-known "dry." McJimsey and the State's

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¹"Milestones," *Time*, L (October 27, 1947), 83.

²Fred T. Barton, *Kansas City Post*, January 1, 1920.

Republican organization which stood behind him were "wet" but played the customary political game of remaining silent to avoid antagonizing the outstate "drys" while reassuring the "wet" city vote. When he referred to prohibition at all McJimsey said that he would enforce the law. On the other hand Hyde, who seemed no more anxious than McJimsey to make the matter an issue, did find it necessary to acknowledge his personal sentiments while taking his stand, too, for law enforcement.

One of the last events of the canvass was a dinner sponsored by the St. Louis City Club to which both candidates were invited to speak. McJimsey, who spoke first, made a brief statement of his program and sat down. Hyde made a longer speech outlining his platform and attacking that of his opponent. Again he announced his well-known "dry" proclivities together with his intention to enforce the law, but then he turned to McJimsey, who sat within arm's length, and demanded of his audience: "Does anybody know, certainly, Mr. McJimsey's attitude on this question?" After attacking his opponent's fence-straddling posture Hyde asked McJimsey to make known his personal views and stepped aside to yield the floor while the crowd took up the demand for a clear statement from the organization candidate. Caught unaware, McJimsey was at first too confused to speak, then agreed to respond, and finally got to his feet only to reaffirm his law-enforcement position. Hyde returned to the lectern, baited McJimsey further, and then taunted him with the observation:

When I was in school I once read of a toad which took its color from the leaves of the trees on which it perched.

I take it that Mr. McJimsey is wet in St. Louis and dry in the country and of varying degrees of humidity in between.³

In the primary a few days later Hyde beat McJimsey by 40,000 ballots. But, more significantly, in St. Louis, the center of "wet" strength, where McJimsey figured to roll up a tremendous majority to offset any possible Hyde outstate vote, McJimsey was the victor by a scant 5,000 votes. Curtis A. Betts, long a political reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, wrote that McJimsey "was not equal to the occasion. The result was that Hyde's courage and McJimsey's wishywashiness won for Hyde a material part of the wet St. Louis Republican organization and a big following in St. Louis."⁴

³*St. Louis Globe-Democrat and Kansas City Star*, July 29, 1920.

⁴Curtis A. Betts to Robert P. Friedman, January 20, 1954.

Equally memorable to Missouri Republicans are the campaign encounters between Hyde and Senator James A. Reed. Democrats recount these exchanges, too, for Reed was certainly no less a master of political invective than Hyde. When in an early encounter Hyde likened "the golden stream of Reed oratory to a muddy creek in floodtime overflowing into a hog wallow," Reed retorted by describing Hyde as "the steam whistle on a fertilizer factory."⁵

Hyde's most delightful rejoinder to Reed came in 1926. After a telling attack by Reed, Hyde responded:

I am scared but resigned. How shall I escape so great a condemnation or so relentless a Gorgon. It would be mildly interesting to be chased by a wild and infuriated bull. It would be temporarily exciting to flee the path of an onrushing swirling devastating cyclone. But from the superb Senator there is no escape. Certain, swift, sure extinction is the only possible end, for do we not read in the sacred writings, as well as see in the previous efforts of the Senator, that the jawbone of an ass is fatal to thousands.⁶

Hyde did not abandon his audacity and penchant for invective when he left Missouri politics and became Secretary of Agriculture in the Hoover administration. Entering that office at that time demanded the best that was in him. Agriculture was in a depressed state resulting from an unmanageable farm surplus coupled with an inflating economy; various legislative approaches over the preceding years had failed to provide relief for the embattled farmer; and the administration soon found itself caught in a crossfire of opposition maintained by traditional enemies and accustomed friends.

Hyde's most brilliant speech as Secretary of Agriculture grew out of this situation when on April 30, 1930, he spoke impromptu to the national convention of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

The storm which produced Hyde's lightning-like attack had slowly gathered force since the earliest months of the Hoover administration.

On June 15, 1929, President Hoover signed the Agricultural Marketing Act which provided for a Federal Farm Board. With its \$500,000,000 loan fund the Board sought the organization of farmer-owned cooperatives to allow the farmer to gain a greater voice in the marketing of his products. Through the operation of

⁵William M. Reddig, *Tom's Town: Kansas City and the Pendergast Legend* (Philadelphia, 1947), 101.

⁶Partial speech manuscript, Hyde papers, Hyde law offices, Trenton, Missouri.

the cooperatives it was hoped that speculation would be minimized, distribution of marketed commodities would be improved, and, through control of the surplus, a more advantageous domestic market relatively free from excessive price fluctuations would be assured.

When wheat prices sagged in August, 1929, the Farm Board provided loans to existing cooperatives to enable them to hold their grain. The market steadied temporarily but again weakened markedly after the first of the year.

Meanwhile the Board proceeded to fulfill its primary purpose. Starting in October, 1929, with the Farmers National Grain Corporation, by April, 1930, the Board had facilitated the organization of wool, cotton, and bean cooperatives, and livestock farmers stood ready to incorporate.

To succeed in organizing such cooperatives was one thing; to gain public acceptance for them was another. The director of the Brookings Institute's economic division pointed to the dissent among farmers:

... To propose ... [the organization of crop-wide cooperatives] is openly to throw down the gauntlet to the farmer. ... Everywhere and always he has cherished the idea of himself as "the independent farmer". ... The hand of iconoclasm is tearing at the foundation of one of our most ancient tribal gods. ...⁷

Typical of the press's reaction was an editorial in the *Milwaukee Journal*:

The ... program is already miles away on a flying start to that goal which ... Hoover ... described as "State Socialism". ... the Presidential Candidate ... [told] us of the evils of injecting government into business—it was a "false liberalism," it led to bureaucracy, it would destroy initiative, it would mean "abuse and corruption." And here is Mr. Hoover's own appointee, with great faith and energy, doing the very thing that Mr. Hoover warned against.⁸

When grain dealers felt the pinch of the Farm Board's action and livestock interests began to anticipate similar distress, they approached Alexander Legge, the Board's chairman, to lodge a protest. When rebuffed by Legge they turned to the more receptive

⁷E. G. Nourse, "The Farm Board and the Farmer," *New Republic*, LXII (April 30, 1930), 288.

⁸Reprinted in "To Sell His Wheat and Keep It Too," *Literary Digest*, CIII (November 16, 1929), 13.

Chamber of Commerce, which scheduled its third general session for consideration of the measure. Shifting the burden of proof to the Board, the Chamber asked Legge to speak first, to be followed by Dan A. Millett, a stockman from Denver, who would present business's point of view.⁹

No doubt existed as to the outcome of the session; the *Topeka Daily Capital* correctly assessed the situation: "At its meeting in Washington this week the Chamber of Commerce . . . will make a head-on attack on the Federal Farm Board law."¹⁰

On April 30, "delegates . . . packed the auditorium"¹¹ and heard Legge make a scathing attack on the Chamber:

I am sure that most of you will agree that you know more about the agricultural situation and how to meet it than I do! . . . if this be true . . . the situation presents a very severe indictment of the organization which having full information of the facts has made so little effort to remedy the situation.¹²

Millett followed Legge and asked for the "uninterrupted working of the law of supply and demand" as "the only . . . sound, scientific method of eliminating the marginal producer."¹³ He declared that the marketing and distributing businesses could not "compete with their Government, which they support and supply with funds through taxes—which taxes are used to their undoing."

Millett charged the Farm Board with being "the advisor, the banker, the builder, buyer and marketer for agriculture" and cautioned that "it may well become finally the dictator." He ridiculed the Government's dual program of research leading to greater production coupled with an agency designed to increase the price of that surplus while attempting to reduce it.

Millett concluded with a Biblical quotation into which he interjected his own interpretation:

And He spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man (the United States) brought forth plentifully: (that is the surplus.) . . .

And He said, This will I do: I will pull down My barns and build greater; and there will I bestow all My fruits and My goods. (That is the withholding program.)

⁹Washington Evening Star, April 27, 1930.

¹⁰Editorial in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 28, 1930.

¹¹*New York Times*, May 1, 1930.

¹²Boston Christian Science Monitor, April 30, 1930.

¹³*Ibid.*

And I will say to my soul . . . take thine ease, eat, drink and be merry. (That is the high price that will be realized.)

But God (the Economic Law) said unto him, Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee.¹⁴

Shortly after this, as *Time* magazine noted, "Hyde . . . rose excitedly to his feet. Trembling with agitation . . . he demanded the right to be heard."¹⁵ Hyde's first words conveyed his "profound respect" for his audience, but they seemed more nearly the reflex action of an experienced speaker than any genuine attempt to conciliate. He then announced that he would "first of all, give attention to the religious portion of this program."

After establishing his own familiarity with the Bible, Hyde challenged Millett's interpretation:

Most of the clergy, and, I think a large proportion of the populace, believe that parable was properly applicable to the sin of covetousness and to that kind of fat-headed satisfaction which is content with things as they are. . . .¹⁶

Hyde effectively turned the tables on Millett by using Millett's own quotation: "'Thou fool, this day shall thy soul be required of thee.' So much for the religious part of this discussion."

The Secretary then turned to other charges leveled at the Farm Board. He denied that the Board fixed prices but agreed that it did seek to control production. To support the rectitude of such a program he pointed out that those who condemned that procedure, Henry Ford and United States Steel, for example, themselves had followed the same policy. In response to the argument that the law of supply and demand should be allowed to eliminate the marginal producer, Hyde cautioned his listeners that such a program would result in lowered standards of living for all farmers and an even greater surplus.

The Secretary defended the losses incurred through loans to support the sagging wheat market by stating that the Board had "made the same mistake that a banker does when he loans too much." To clinch the argument he reminded the members of the Chamber of Commerce that when the Board tried to make good on its promises to the farmers it found that "a thrifty and alert grain trade was unloading its holdings."

¹⁴Washington *United States Daily*, May 1, 1930.

¹⁵"Husbandry," *Time*, XV (May 12, 1930), 16.

¹⁶Quotations from Hyde's speech are taken from Washington, D. C., *The United States Daily*, May 1, 1930. That paper printed what is called the full text of Hyde's remarks.

Hyde refuted the charge of paternalism by arguing that the cooperatives were owned and controlled by the farmer. The Government's action, he observed, was to "serve agriculture in the same way as the United States Steel Company has done for steel, Standard Oil for oil, and the Federal Reserve Bank for finance."

After reminding the Chamber of Commerce members of their own rural backgrounds and the contribution that rural America had made in men and products to the growth of industrial America, Hyde declared that "agriculture has an equity which it is entitled to have liquidated at the hands of industry." In concluding, he implored them to "speak with sympathy for the men and women of the farm who are trying . . . to gain an American standard of living for themselves, and an American educational opportunity for their children."

Hyde's delivery was impassioned. Various sources observed that he "did not seek to use elegant language," that he spoke in "vigorous terms," that he occasionally "shouted," and that at one point "Secretary Hyde, panting, paused to catch his breath. Then pell-mell . . . continued."¹⁷

To state with certainty the strategy that Hyde had in mind in answering Millett's attack on the Farm Board is impossible; however, when Hyde's speech is considered along with that of Legge's, a speech Hyde had almost certainly seen and approved, the most likely conclusion is that Hyde spoke in the presence of the Chamber of Commerce but to the larger audience of farmers and non-business people who would read of his attack.

The fact that Hyde was "frequently applauded . . . during his speech,"¹⁸ was no indication of a change in sentiment on the part of the Chamber of Commerce; on May 1, the Chamber roundly condemned the Farm Board.

But the press and the farmers reacted differently. The same *Milwaukee Journal* that had yelped "Socialism" earlier, now editorialized: "it is well that the chamber has come into the open. . . . No longer can the chamber and its associate organizations talk in general terms about the dangers of socialism. . . . What the chamber is concerned about is competition—nothing else. . . ."¹⁹ Typical of the farm press's reaction was an editorial which chastised the Chamber and concluded with the thought that "A slap in the face

¹⁷*Christian Science Monitor*, April 30, 1930, and "Husbandry," *Time*, May 12, 1930, 16.

¹⁸*New York Times*, May 1, 1930.

¹⁹Editorial in the *Milwaukee Journal*, May 2, 1930.

sometimes clears the brain and stirs us to action. . . ."²⁰ Dexter M. Keezer of the Baltimore *Evening Sun* provided the sharpest analysis. Keezer termed the Chamber's action "the best piece of luck" that the Farm Board "has had to date" and concluded with the observation:

The fact that stands out in . . . [the farmers'] minds is that the Chamber of Commerce is out to get the Farm Board, and that is about all they need to know to be for it.²¹

Hyde's speech, coupled with Legge's crystallized the issues at stake between the Chamber and the Farm Board; farmers in large numbers rallied to the support of the administration's program.

Arthur Hyde's later years were spent in defending Hoover and attacking Roosevelt. His manner was always audacious and frequently refreshing. Following the "prosperity is just around the corner" theme of the Republicans, he stated:

I believe the stockmarket lies. If it ever was a barometer of business . . . it has become merely a thermometer registering the temperature of cold feet in high places.²²

When distressed with the New Deal's pump priming measures he charged:

Neither men nor government can squander themselves into prosperity, or borrow themselves out of debt.

When alarmed at the policies of his successor in the Department of Agriculture he warned:

You can't make more milk by reducing the size of a quart cup.

When amazed at the philosophy of the New Deal he argued:

A liberal—in the Roosevelt philosophy—is a man with both feet planted firmly in the air.

And when flabbergasted at Roosevelt's tradition-breaking act in seeking re-election in 1940, Arthur Hyde labeled his arch enemy "The Third Termite."

Although Hyde earned and deserved his latter-day reputation for political conservatism, his rhetoric was anything but characteris-

²⁰Editorial in the St. Paul *Farmer*, May 3, 1930.

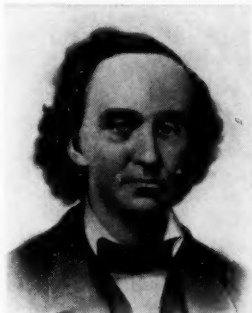
²¹Dexter M. Keezer, Baltimore *Evening Sun*, May 3, 1930.

²²This and the several following quotations are taken from speech manuscripts in the Hyde papers in his former law offices in Trenton, Missouri.

tic of Republican speechmaking. If Hyde's sentiments paralleled those of the less liberal elements of his party, his approach did not. A Missourian born and bred, Hyde's style was in the rich Missouri tradition of hard-hitting oratory first given prominence by Thomas Hart Benton, alive in Hyde's day in the utterances of James A. Reed, and still with us today in the invective of Missouri's "Give 'Em Hell" former President, Harry S. Truman.

MISSOURI IN THE EARLY MONTHS OF THE CIVIL WAR

BY ARTHUR ROY KIRKPATRICK*



Strauss Portrait

Claiborne Fox Jackson

On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 state militia troops to enforce Federal law in the seceded states.¹ Secretary of War Simon Cameron immediately telegraphed a request for troops to the governors of all states still in the Union. Missouri's quota was four infantry regiments, 3,123 officers and men, including one brigadier general.²

On April 17, Governor Jackson, with the almost unanimous approval of the press and of most of the population of the State, replied:

Sir, Your dispatch of the 15th instant, making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service, has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but the men are intended to form a part of the President's Army to make war upon the people of the seceded states. Your requisition in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the state of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade.

C. F. Jackson
Governor of Missouri³

On the same day Governor Jackson called a special session of the general assembly for May 2 for the purpose of passing laws necessary

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His article in the January *Review* examined the State on the eve of the Civil War. In this issue the author discusses the opening phase of the war in Missouri and then turns to an analysis of "behind-the-scenes" events of which the public was not generally aware.

¹Proclamation, Washington, D. C., April 15, 1861, U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and the Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 1881-1901), III, I, 68. Hereafter cited as *O. R. R.*

²Telegram, S. Cameron to Governor Jackson and others, Washington, D. C., April 15, 1861, *O. R. R.*, III, I, 69.

³*O. R. R.*, III, I, 82-83. See also the inside of the back cover of this *Review*.

to organize and equip the militia and to raise money to place the State on a defensive war footing. He also ordered the commanding officers of all militia districts to mobilize their commands on May 3 for six days of instruction and drill. This order was in accordance with the provisions of the militia law of 1858.

Never before or after was Governor Jackson so popular. The State rallied to him in support of his curt refusal to send troops to Washington and in condemnation of President Lincoln. The conservative St. Louis *Republican* said on April 14,

No matter what may be the expenditure of life and money, the seceding states can never be conquered . . . a more unrighteous and unpopular war was never inaugurated.⁴

On April 16 the *Republican* again bitterly criticized Lincoln's proclamation with the assertion,

We need not wait for the answer of the Governor of Missouri to this demand upon the state for her quota of troops. The people are ready to respond now, that they will not contribute one company for any such purpose. They will not make war on the South.⁵

Three days later the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, edited by William F. Switzler, whose later record proved his adherence to the Union, cried out,

Let them [the border states] stand as a wall of fire between the belligerent extremes, and with their strong arms and potential counsel keep them apart. Let them stand pledged . . . to resist any attempt to coercion, plighting their faith, as we do not hesitate to plight the faith of Missouri that if the impending war of the Northern States against the Southern shall, in defiance of our solemn protest and warning, actually occur (which God in His mercy forefend) we shall stand by Virginia and Kentucky and our Southern sisters—sharing their dangers and abiding their fortunes and destiny—in driving back from their borders the hostile feet of Northern invaders. Of the South; we are for the South.⁶

The *Statesman* anticipated Governor Jackson's refusal to furnish Missouri's quota for the President's militia call. It dismissed

⁴St. Louis *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, April 14, 1861.

⁵*Ibid.*, April 16, 1861.

⁶Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, April 19, 1861.

Lincoln's call upon New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio for over half of the troops by saying, "Those who elected him ought to be required to do his fighting. Those who dance must pay the piper." At the same time an editorial laid full blame for the war on a combination of Black Republicanism in the North and secessionism in the South.⁷

Other State papers joined the chorus of denunciation of Lincoln and approval of Jackson.⁸ The *California News* declared,

... we are unalterably with the South in the present attitude of affairs, and today declare that we are *first, last and all the time for our brethern of the South COME WEAL, COME WOE OR DEATH.*⁹

On April 19, according to the same paper, 15 guns were fired on Capitol Hill in Jefferson City to honor Governor Jackson and the secession of Virginia, and mass meetings displaying the Confederate flag were being held throughout the State.

The *News* a week later urged that the State Convention be called immediately to pass an ordinance of secession which, it said, would be approved by the people by a majority of 75,000 votes.¹⁰ This was certainly an over-enthusiastic estimate of the change in feeling in the State. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that feeling ran very high at the time or that many conditional Unionists would then have supported secession.

There was also hearty approval of the Governor's call for a special session of the legislature. One newspaper in the State remained silent, however, on Governor Jackson's action, the *Weekly Democrat* in St. Louis, an organ of the Republican Party in that city.¹¹

The first actual armed blow struck by either side in Missouri occurred on April 20, when secessionists of Clay and Jackson counties captured the small Federal arsenal at Liberty¹² and there secured 1,500 stand of arms and four small brass cannon which were to play their own role in the affairs of the State within two months.

The request of Secretary Cameron for troops having been refused by Governor Jackson, Francis P. Blair, Jr., immediately offered his

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Glasgow Weekly Times*, April 18, 1861.

⁹*California News*, April 20, 1861.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, April 27, 1861.

¹¹The *Democrat* was the only Missouri newspaper used in this study which failed to laud Governor Jackson in his reply to Cameron.

¹²Report, Benjamin Farrar, East St. Louis, Illinois, April 21, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, 649.

"Wide-Awakes" to fill the quota. On April 30 the War Department issued orders authorizing Captain Nathaniel Lyon to enroll the loyal citizens of St. Louis to the number of 10,000 for the military service of the United States and commissioning Blair a colonel of volunteers.¹³ Under these orders a total of 10,591 men, mostly from St. Louis, were soon furnished the Federal Government.¹⁴

The special session of the general assembly met on May 2 in accordance with the Governor's call, and the following day he sent a message which renewed his request for revision of the Militia Act of 1858 and asked an appropriation to place Missouri in an adequate state of defense as soon as possible. He reviewed the history of the existing situation, particularly the President's call for troops and his own answer, and added,

... the present executive of the United States seems to regard the states, in their relation to the federal government, as similar to those which the counties bear to state sovereignties . . . a monstrous and dangerous doctrine.¹⁵

Expressing hope for the preservation of the Union even yet, he deplored the use of arms in its preservation. It was far better, he said, for the people of the "dis-united" states to part in friendship than to be held together in constraint.

Jackson apparently realized that the State was ill-prepared to resist Federal authority, and he saw in a temporary pretense of armed neutrality a better and more easily maintained position than one of open defiance. He appealed to the legislators and, he said, through them to the whole people of the State, to do nothing impru-



Clay Co. Mo. Centennial Souvenir

United States Arsenal at Liberty Landing

¹³Order, War Department, Washington, D. C., April 30, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, 1, 675. The "Wide-Awakes" were pro-Union men organized originally to protect Republican meetings.

¹⁴*O. R. R.*, III, 1, 70.

¹⁵Buel Leopard and Floyd C. Shoemaker, compilers and editors, *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* (Columbia, 1922), III, 344-47.

dent that might precipitate war in Missouri. They should implicitly obey the laws and the constitutional authorities but stand ready to unite in preserving their honor and their security. This was a high duty imposed by their families, their country, and their God.

This message was well received by most of the press in the State. The *Democrat*, however, called the Governor's stated policy of armed neutrality "simply the preliminary to secession." Missouri, it contended, had no need to be in a "proper attitude for defense." Defense against what or whom?¹⁶

In response to the Governor's request the general assembly, meeting for the most part in secret session, set to work. A bill entitled "An Act to Provide for the Organization, Government and Support of the Military Forces of the State of Missouri" was introduced,¹⁷ but little progress was made toward passage because of stubborn opposition of small groups in both houses. This 40-page document provided for enrolling every able-bodied man in the Missouri State Militia. It defined "treason to the state" as extending to the utterance of derogatory criticism of the Governor or the general assembly and made the crime punishable by death.



Scharf, *Hist. of St. Louis*, I

Gen. William S. Harney

Although the encampment of the First Military District at Camp Jackson on the St. Louis city limits had been established in strict accordance with State and Federal laws, Captain Nathaniel Lyon feared an attack on the Federal arsenal at St. Louis by General D. M. Frost's State forces. He had satisfied himself that the camp contained Confederate arms and that its streets were named for Confederate statesmen and generals. Consequently, he decided to take advantage of the temporary absence of General William S. Harney, the Federal commander in St. Louis, to capture the place.¹⁸

On the evening of May 10, Governor Jackson informed the legislature that Federal troops had seized Camp Jackson. Within 15

¹⁶St. Louis *Weekly Democrat*, May 7, 1861.

¹⁷*Laws of the State of Missouri, Passed at the Called Session of the Twenty-First General Assembly, Begun and Held at the City of Jefferson, on Thursday, May 2, 1861* (Jefferson City, 1861), 3-43.

¹⁸Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri from the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon* (New York, 1888), 169-70.

minutes the militia bill passed both houses.¹⁹ Several other measures intended to place the State on a war footing passed the same evening.

Before the night was over one of the strangest legislative acts in history was adopted. A rumor had spread to the city that some of "Blair's regiments" were marching on the capital. The legislature met about midnight in extraordinary session, each member armed and fearful,²⁰ and passed an unprecedented act which gave sweeping military powers to the Governor. Jackson used this grant to justify the measures of resistance which soon followed.

An Act to Authorize the Governor of the State of Missouri to Suppress Rebellion and Repel Invasion.

Whereas information has been received that the City of St. Louis has been invaded by citizens of other states, and a part of the people of said city are in a state of rebellion against the laws of the state, whereby the lives and property of the good people of the state are endangered: Therefore

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri as follows:

That the Governor of the State of Missouri is hereby authorized to take such measures as in his judgment he may deem necessary or proper to repel such invasion or put down such rebellion. This act shall take effect from its passage.²¹

On that same panic-filled night Governor Jackson sent a company of men to burn the Pacific Railroad bridges over the Gasconade and Osage rivers if it became necessary to prevent an attack on the capital. No attack materialized, but somehow in the excitement of the moment the Osage River bridge was partially destroyed.²²

Passions which had cooled somewhat since the Governor's refusal to furnish Lincoln with troops were once again aroused to white heat throughout the State by the attack on Camp Jackson. On May 18 the general assembly adopted a resolution denouncing the attack and asking Governor Jackson to mobilize the militia immediately for the defense of the State.²³

The secessionist *California News* bluntly proclaimed Lyon's action a declaration of war and issued a call to arms.²⁴ The conserva-

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 172-73; *Laws, Called Session, 21st General Assembly*, 43.

²⁰*Snead, Fight for Missouri*, 173.

²¹*Laws, Called Session, 21st General Assembly*, 48.

²²*Snead, Fight for Missouri*, 173.

²³*California News*, May 18, 1861.

²⁴*Ibid.*

tive, pro-Union *Statesman* warned that such action was likely to drive many of Missouri's Union men into secession and bitterly criticized the tyranny of the Government in its military occupation of the State.²⁵ One of the State's most prominent conditional Union men, Sterling Price, hurried to Jefferson City to offer his services to the Governor and was appointed commander-in-chief of the State forces with rank of major general.

The *Republican* laid full blame for the Camp Jackson episode on the "ambition, self-will, and domineering spirit of Francis P. Blair, Jr., and his political confederates," and joined the universal cry of protest against a Federal tyranny which had motivated the capture of legally encamped State troops and had encouraged the killing of several civilians in the rioting which followed the surrender of the troops.²⁶ The *Democrat*, as might be expected, called Camp Jackson a secession camp and blamed the Governor's supporters in the city for the riot which had produced the fatalities.²⁷

It must be recognized that each of these papers was influenced by its own position and by that of Colonel Blair in St. Louis and in State politics²⁸. The reaction of the *Republican*, however, seems to have reflected quite accurately the prevailing anger and resentment. At least its words were echoed in papers all over the State.

To many on both sides it appeared that the period of waiting was over and that war in Missouri was a reality. Nonetheless, another month and two efforts to preserve the peace were to pass before Missouri was actually precipitated into civil war.

The usually easy-going and conciliatory General William Harney, who had resumed command in St. Louis on May 11, immediately went on record as approving Lyon's action at Camp Jackson.²⁹ On May 14 he issued a proclamation to the people of the State of Missouri, calling the Militia Act "unconstitutional, and an indirect ordinance of secession." He informed them that they had no obligation to support the State officials in any action against the Federal Government.³⁰

²⁵*Missouri Statesman*, May 17, 1861.

²⁶*Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, May 14, 1861.

²⁷*Weekly Democrat*, May 14, 1861.

²⁸The *Democrat*, established in 1852 to support Senator Thomas H. Benton, became a Republican party organ about 1856 with Blair as its editor-in-chief. The *Republican*, on the other hand, had fought Senator Benton as a Whig paper. It endorsed the Democratic Party after 1856 and supported Claiborne Jackson and Stephen A. Douglas in 1860.

²⁹Letter, W. S. Harney to Winfield Scott, St. Louis, May 13, 1861, cited in Sneed, *Fight for Missouri*, 177.

³⁰Proclamation, W. S. Harney, St. Louis, May 14, 1861, O. R. R., I, III, 372-73.

Alarmed by this action, Jackson and Price requested a conference with Harney. On May 20, upon invitation of General Harney and with the approval of Jackson, General Price went to St. Louis and concluded an agreement with the Federal commander. This agreement, published as a joint proclamation of the two officers, stipulated that Harney should make no military movements in the State if Price and the State Militia could and would maintain law and order and protect the lives and property of pro-Union citizens against the efforts of either Missouri secessionists or Confederate troops.³¹

As will be seen later, this agreement caused great consternation among Missourians who were already negotiating for Confederate aid. At the same time it angered the supporters of Lyon and Blair, who felt that Harney had fallen into a Jackson-Price trap. Arrangements were made to flood General Harney with letters complaining of ill treatment suffered by Union sympathizers throughout the State and with warnings of projected invasions by Confederate troops.³²

General Price managed to reassure Harney that the State authorities were fully living up to the agreement,³³ but Blair and Lyon had already been successful in securing Harney's replacement by the latter.³⁴ Lyon, now a brigadier general, was at last in a position to carry out his plans to place the entire State under military occupation.

Immediately upon hearing of the removal of General Harney, and guessing accurately what the results were likely to be, Price issued an order to the brigadier generals of the State Militia commanding all military districts of the State. The State would, he told them, carry out the Price-Harney agreement in good faith, but they should be ready to resist any aggression by Lyon's forces. He ordered them to speed their organization and to adopt the State's bear flag as their colors.³⁵

A number of prominent Missourians persuaded Governor Jackson that he should make one last effort for peace. At the request of several friends in St. Louis, Lyon agreed to meet the Governor and General Price if they would come to St. Louis on or

³¹Joint proclamation, W. S. Harney and S. Price, St. Louis, May 21, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 375.

³²Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 191; numerous letters, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 375-79.

³³Letters, S. Price to W. S. Harney, St. Louis, May 24, May 29, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 378-81.

³⁴G. O. No. 5, Hqs. Department of the West, St. Louis, May 31, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 381.

³⁵Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 196-97.

before June 12 and offered them safe conduct and immunity from arrest during their journey to and from St. Louis.³⁶



McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri*

**"The Fateful Meeting in the
St. Louis Hotel"**

When Lyon refused to meet Jackson at the Governor's Hotel, a dispute over precedence threatened to disrupt the conference even before it began. Despite his honest belief that a Federal brigadier general should accord a State Governor due honor by going to him, Governor Jackson quickly agreed to meet the General at the Planter's House. Those present at the meeting were Governor Jackson; General Price; Thomas L. Snead, the Governor's *aide-de-camp*; General Lyon; and Colonel Blair. It was evident from the beginning that Jackson and Lyon could come to no agreement, for Lyon refused to concede a single point to the opposition. Colonel Snead has preserved in detail the events of the day, concluding:

Finally, when the conference had lasted four or five hours, Lyon closed it as he had opened. 'Rather' said he, (he was still seated and spoke deliberately, slowly, and with a peculiar emphasis) 'Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the state whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into, out of, or through the state: rather than concede to the State of Missouri for one single instant the right to dictate to my government in any matter, however unimportant, I would' (rising as he said this and pointing in turn to everyone in the room) 'see you, and you, and you, and you, and you, and every man, woman, and child in the state, dead and buried.' Then turning to the Governor, he said: 'This means

³⁶Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 196-97.

war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines.' And then without another word, without an inclination of the head, without even a look, he turned upon his heel and strode out of the room.³⁷

The Governor and his party returned immediately to the Pacific Railroad station where their special train was waiting with steam up. During the return to Jefferson City the officials conferred hurriedly as to the course of action that must now be taken. It was decided that Governor Jackson would issue a proclamation calling the State to arms; Price would take the field at once with all available forces to resist Lyon; and the Confederate Government would be asked to send a cooperating army into the State as quickly as possible.³⁸

At crossings on the Gasconade and the Osage the train was stopped to allow the firing of the bridges to delay pursuit.³⁹ The train reached Jefferson City about two A.M. on June 12. The remainder of the night was spent by the Governor and as many of the State officials as could be reached in packing public records and papers in wooden cases in preparation for a speedy evacuation of the capital.

Colonel Snead, on instructions from the Governor, prepared a proclamation which the Governor issued later in the morning.⁴⁰ This proclamation, intended as a stirring trumpet call which would arouse the whole State, was accurately described by one author as "entirely too verbose."⁴¹ Colonel Snead could not break himself of writing long, ponderous editorials. In this proclamation Jackson called the State to arms and ordered out the militia to the number of 50,000. At the same time he reminded the people that Missouri was still in the Union and that they should obey all "constitutional requirements" of the Federal Government, though they were under no obligation to obey the "unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington." He acknowledged the right of the State Convention to provide for Missouri's future, stating that the executive department did not arrogate to itself power to disturb the relationship between the State and the Federal Government. The Convention would, at the proper time,

³⁷Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 199-200.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 200.

³⁹John McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri* (Washington, D. C., 1913), 99.

⁴⁰Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 201.

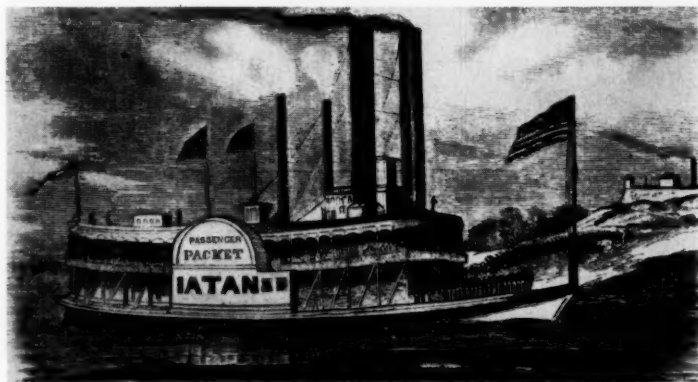
⁴¹McElroy, *Struggle for Missouri*, 100.

express the sovereign will of the people. Governor Jackson was to change his opinion on this point by the time he issued his declaration of independence on August 5.

Before noon on June 12 Price dispatched orders to the commanding generals in each military district to assemble all available men at once at some convenient place within the district limits and then to march to Boonville or Lexington, whichever was closer. General John B. Clark's command was to rendezvous at Boonville.⁴²

The following day word reached Jefferson City that Federal troops had left St. Louis enroute to the capital. Immediately, Governor Jackson, General Price, Secretary of State Benjamin F. Massey, who took with him the Great Seal of the State, and several other State officials embarked on the steamer *White Cloud*. They reached Boonville that night. Two days later Federal troops quietly occupied the capital. The legally elected government of the State was from this time on a fugitive government.

Boonville had been chosen as a point of rendezvous because it was considered more defensible than Jefferson City. It was in the midst of a friendly population, and the State armory and workshop had been moved there following Lyon's assumption of command in St. Louis.⁴³ General Price was taken quite ill about the time he arrived in Boonville, and the Governor sent him to Lexington to



Harper's Weekly, July 6, 1861

United States Volunteers Landing at Jefferson City

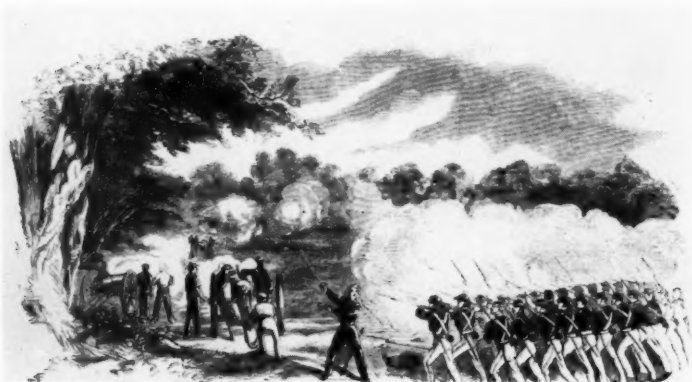
⁴²Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 207; Edward A. Pollard, *Southern History of the War* (New York, 1865), I, 128.

⁴³Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 206-207.

take charge as soon as he had sufficiently recovered. Governor Jackson and General Clark remained in Boonville with 300 or 400 volunteers. With them was young Colonel John S. Marmaduke, Mrs. Jackson's nephew, the only West Pointer present. Actual field command was entrusted to him.

On June 17, a small local engagement was fought at Boonville between State and Federal troops.⁴⁴ Losses were light on both sides: three Missourians killed and 25 wounded, with casualties somewhat heavier among Lyon's men. The green Missouri militia could not long stand against their more numerous, even if inexperienced, opponents. Governor Jackson, his troops, and his government officials with their records were forced to retreat into Southwest Missouri, where they expected to receive the protection of Confederate forces under General Ben McCulloch.

The general tone of the press was extremely critical of the Governor's latest moves. Both the *Statesman* and the *Republican* now condemned the Governor for his proclamation and token resistance, when the State had neither the arms nor the money to fight a war, with the consequent occupation of the entire State by Federal troops.⁴⁵ The *California News*, however, denounced the action of General Lyon at Boonville and Jefferson City and sent its best wishes to Governor Jackson and his troops.⁴⁶



Harper's Weekly, July 13, 1861

Battle of Boonville

⁴⁴Report, N. Lyon, Boonville, Missouri, June 17, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 11-12.

⁴⁵*Missouri Statesman*, June 21, 1861; *Tri-Weekly Republican*, June 14, 1861.

⁴⁶*California News*, July 6, 1861.

Lyon had now successfully completed the first portion of his campaign. Beginning at Camp Jackson, when the State had been disarmed, he next captured Jefferson City, thus depriving the Governor and the State Government of their capital and of the prestige of established authority. The defeat of the State Militia at Boonville and the subsequent retreat to Southwest Missouri opened most of the State to Federal occupation, cut off the prosperous pro-Southern counties of northern and central Missouri from contact with the Confederacy, and cleared the great river and the railroads for use as Federal highways for the rapid transportation of troops and supplies.

On July 6 the majority of the committee appointed for that purpose called the Convention to meet at Jefferson City on July 22, 1861. Only 40 were present on that day, but 20 more arrived by July 23, thus providing a quorum and enabling the Convention to settle down to business.⁴⁷ Despite sharp opposition from a number of delegates who believed that the Convention was exceeding its legal authority, it adopted on July 30 a series of ordinances recommended by a committee report. These declared the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, and members of the general assembly vacant; repealed a number of acts passed by the extra session of the general assembly; provided for the appointment of a provisional governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state; provided for a state election to be held in November, 1861, to fill the state offices; and submitted to the people of the State for approval the foregoing ordinances.⁴⁸ This choice, incidentally, the people were never actually allowed to make, for the election was cancelled by the Convention at its next meeting, in October, 1861.

On the following day the Convention chose provisional officers to serve until the next election: Judge Hamilton R. Gamble as Governor, Willard P. Hall as Lieutenant Governor, and Mordecai Oliver as Secretary of State.⁴⁹

Thereafter until the end of the war there were two Missouri State governments. The provisional government, later replaced by one regularly elected, remained in possession of the capital at Jefferson City and was recognized by the Federal Government at Washington. In opposition was the government elected by the people of

⁴⁷*Journal of the Missouri State Convention. Held at Jefferson City, July, 1861* (St. Louis: George Knapp and Company, 1861), 3-4.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 23-24.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 25.

Missouri in 1860, possessor of the Great Seal of the State, and recognized as legal by the Confederacy. Governor Jackson now headed an exiled and outlawed regime which never again returned to Jefferson City. For a short time in the autumn of 1864 it appeared that Thomas C. Reynolds, then the chief executive, would once again establish his government in the State capital, but these hopes were short-lived.

BEHIND THE SCENES

Thomas Caute Reynolds, elected Lieutenant Governor of Missouri in 1860, was in many ways a contrast to Governor Jackson. Reynolds was born in South Carolina in 1821. He has been described as a short stocky man with jet black hair, with eyes habitually shaded by gold-rimmed spectacles.⁵⁰ Well educated, he was unquestionably Jackson's superior in intellect. At the time of his election he was a St. Louis lawyer, but he had served for several years as secretary of the legation and *charge d'affaires* at Madrid. Reynolds spoke French, German, and Spanish and was well versed in Greek and Latin. He was a good speaker and tireless writer, and he excelled in diplomacy⁵¹ and other activities involving personal relationship. He had had little experience in Missouri politics before 1860 but was a rabid secessionist.

Jackson and Reynolds, so unlike in age and outward appearance, were one in their devotion to their state and to the South with which they felt Missouri's destiny must lie. They were to remain, each in his time, the only tangible symbol of constitutional government for Missouri in the eyes of the Confederacy during the four years of war.

Both Jackson and Reynolds had denounced the Douglas doctrine of popular sovereignty. Although leaders in the Southern wing of the Democratic Party in Missouri, and despite the protests of Colonel Snead and other friends,⁵² they decided to run as Douglas candidates as a matter of political expediency. They undoubtedly believed, with good reason, that Missouri voters would not support candidates of the more radical groups, no matter how popular they happened to be personally.⁵³

⁵⁰McElroy, *Struggle for Missouri*, 21.

⁵¹*Ibid.*; Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 30-31.

⁵²Letter, Snead and others to C. F. Jackson, St. Louis, June 27, 1860, Sappington Papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.

⁵³The *Republican* was supporting the Douglas ticket, and the endorsement of that important paper was another consideration in Jackson's decision.

The first steps to prepare Missouri for her disunionist role appear to have been taken by the new Lieutenant Governor. He went to Washington when Congress convened in December, 1860, and met in secret conference with a number of Southern leaders to discuss plans for thwarting Federal interference with secession. On December 31, following his return to Missouri, he published a letter setting forth his views and advising Missouri to resist any attempt to coerce the Southern states. He denied that President Buchanan could draw any true distinction between "coercing a state" and compelling the citizens of a seceded state to obey the laws of the United States. He also called for the reorganization of the State Militia and for a convention of the states to attempt to adjust existing problems. If no settlement was reached by March 4, 1861, Reynolds contended that Missouri should not permit Lincoln to exercise any acts of government within her boundaries.⁵⁴

Early on January 4, Reynolds called a consultation of Missouri secessionists, both in and out of the legislature, to meet in a basement room of the capitol building. A number of plans were suggested, most of them only to be discarded as too impracticable. The group did unanimously agree, however, that St. Louis must be put under State control and "Francis P. Blair must be cleaned out."⁵⁵ This decision was soon implemented by the general assembly, which placed the police power of the City of St. Louis in the hands of a police commission to be appointed by the Governor. A few days later Reynolds, himself, held a mass meeting in St. Louis to arouse and organize secessionist sentiment in the city and to attempt to counteract the influence of Blair. This meeting resulted in the organization of the "Minute Men" and in the establishment of secession headquarters in the Berthold mansion at Fifth and Pine Streets.

As Lieutenant Governor and ex-officio President of the Senate, Reynolds was able to appoint committees with chairmen favorable to his own views. The prompt action taken by the general assembly on certain measures, such as those depriving the mayor of St. Louis of his control over the local police and calling a state convention, reflected Reynolds' foresight and action. He was not, however, able to secure the passage of the act reorganizing the militia during the regular session of 1861.

⁵⁴Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 32-33.

⁵⁵See Walter H. Ryle, *Missouri, Union or Secession* (Nashville, 1931), 181-85, for a discussion of these events, based on the Reynolds and Broadhead Papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.

On January 17, 1861, Reynolds delivered a remarkable address to the Senate. The occasion was the consideration of a bill to authorize Governor Jackson to appoint commissioners to a Southern convention to be held at Nashville, Tennessee, and a national convention at Wheeling, Virginia. The Senate was in committee of the whole, and Reynolds relinquished the chair to Senator William Newland, the President *pro tempore*, in order to speak.

He reviewed the long slavery controversy and the steadily increasing Northern usurpation of power in direct defiance of the Federal Constitution. He favored Missouri's participation in both the Nashville and Wheeling conventions. The Nashville meeting would give the 15 Southern states an opportunity to reach agreement and present a solid front at Wheeling, where he believed they could insist upon a just solution that the Northern delegates would have to accept. Suggesting a settlement on the basis of an ironclad veto over any action of Congress by the Southern delegates therein, he argued that the only alternative was the establishment of a new union.

Reynolds contended that the Southern states might well follow the precedent set by the original thirteen states when they ratified the Federal Constitution. The South could simply adopt a new constitution containing necessary safeguards and desirable modifications and take over the old flag and the name United States of America. He believed that one by one the Northern states would then come into the new union and that the old would simply disappear as had that under the Articles of Confederation. He spoke confidently of peace but insisted that in case of war a disunited North would stand no chance against a united "Southland," representing the constitutional government of the United States.⁵⁶

From the moment that Abraham Lincoln's election became an established fact, Governor Jackson was convinced that all the slaveholding states would have to secede from the Union. Firm as he was in this belief, however, he was a hard-headed politician, and he realized that the people of Missouri were not yet ready to adopt such a course. He was convinced that they would, however, should civil war develop. His inaugural address had contained relatively conservative views and had not called publicly for secession. Nor did he undertake any overt action to change the existing status until the actual outbreak of hostilities on April 12.

⁵⁶Speech of Lieut. Governor Reynolds on Preservation or Reconstruction of the Union, Delivered in the Senate of Missouri, January 17, 1861 (St. Louis, 1861).

Jackson had, however, begun to lay the groundwork for future action even before his inauguration, a process which he intensified as soon as he became governor.

To the new Governor and his associates the key to the future defense of the State was the Federal arsenal at St. Louis. In January, 1861, it contained about 60,000 stand of arms and large supplies of other munitions. It had well-equipped and well-manned workshops. It was of vital importance that the arsenal and its arms should be available for use by the State in case of trouble or, at the worst, that it not be vulnerable to capture or use by forces with intentions hostile to Missouri.

Jackson intended to take no action in regard to the arsenal until the Convention took the State out of the Union, unless there was danger of an immediate change in status that would jeopardize the welfare of the State. He had authorized Brigadier General Daniel M. Frost, commanding the State Militia in the St. Louis area, to seize the arsenal whenever decisive action seemed necessary, but he considered these orders to be merely precautionary.

On January 24 General Frost wrote Jackson that he had seen Major William H. Bell, commandant at the arsenal, and had found the Major "everything that you or I could desire." According to Frost, Major Bell recognized Missouri's right to claim and occupy the arsenal because it was on her soil. He would defend it against irresponsible mobs but not against proper state authorities. In addition, Bell promised not to remove any arms from the arsenal without first giving timely warning to General Frost.⁵⁷ This news was very reassuring to the Governor. Unfortunately for his plans and piece of mind, Major Bell was replaced within a few days by Major Peter V. Hagner, with whom Frost was unable to reach any such amicable agreement.

As early as the middle of February, the commanding general of the Army, Winfield Scott, had become alarmed about the safety of the arsenal. He suggested possible reinforcements to General Harney, under whose command of the Western Department of the Army the installation fell.⁵⁸ General Harney immediately replied that Major Hagner, with a garrison of nine officers and 484 men,

⁵⁷Letter, D. M. Frost to C. F. Jackson, St. Louis, January 24, 1861, *Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature, Called Together by a Proclamation of C. F. Jackson, Begun and Held at the Town of Neosho, Newton County, Missouri, and the Twenty-First Day of October, Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-One* (Jefferson City, 1865-1866), 30.

⁵⁸Telegram, W. Scott to W. S. Harney, Washington, February 12, 1861, cited in letter, G. W. Lay to W. S. Harney, Washington, February 13, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 653.

was entirely capable of defending the arsenal. He doubted the existence of any danger and was confident that the loyal citizens of St. Louis would aid in its protection should any attack occur.⁵⁹

This conclusion, in which Major Hagner seems to have concurred, disappointed and disgusted Francis P. Blair, Jr., who had notified General Scott of the situation. As soon as the new Republican administration was installed in Washington, Blair requested that actual command of the installation and troops be given to Captain Nathaniel Lyon, then commanding one company in the garrison, while Major Hagner, because of his technical knowledge and skill, should retain control over the Ordnance Department at the arsenal.⁶⁰

To Harney's annoyance and Major Hagner's chagrin, this change was made on March 13.⁶¹ Removing the Major from most of his command without charge or explanation and placing him under the command of an officer of lesser rank was a serious and unjustified demotion in his own eyes and in those of his associates. However, the arsenal was probably safer under the control of Lyon and his ally, Frank Blair.

Shortly after the general assembly adjourned on March 28, the Governor went to St. Louis to confer with General Frost and a number of prominent secessionists of that city, including Basil W. Duke, Colton Greene, and others who had organized the "Minute Men" for future use against the arsenal and to support the State government in any move to separate from the Union.⁶² They agreed that the arsenal must be seized in order to arm and equip the State Militia before the arms were removed or the garrison of the arsenal was reinforced.⁶³ Before any action could be taken, however, Fort Sumter had surrendered, Lincoln had made his call for troops, and Jackson had replied for Missouri.

On April 15, General Frost submitted a memorandum to the Governor, suggesting several immediate lines of action. He proposed that Jackson convene the legislature in special session and send an agent south to procure mortars and siege guns for use in capturing the St. Louis arsenal. He urged that the Governor take measures to

⁵⁹Letter, W. S. Harney to L. Thomas, St. Louis, February 19, 1861, *O. R. R. I*, I, 654.

⁶⁰Letter, F. P. Blair, to S. Cameron, Washington, March 11, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 657-58.

⁶¹S. O. No. 74, Adjutant General's Department, Washington, March 13, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 658.

⁶²Basil W. Duke, *Reminiscences of General Basil W. Duke*, C. S. A. (New York, 1911), 37-38. Both of the young men named were from families prominent in St. Louis society and were captains in the Missouri State Militia.

⁶³Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 147.

prevent the garrisoning of the small arsenal at Liberty and that he, Frost, be ordered to establish a military camp overlooking the arsenal in St. Louis, so that batteries might be erected and manned in positions to make the defense of the installation impossible.⁶⁴

Most of these ideas were adopted by the Governor. On the same day that he refused troops to the Federal Government he called a special session of the legislature and secretly sent Captains Colton Greene and Basil W. Duke to Montgomery, the capital of the new confederacy. They carried the Governor's request to President Jefferson Davis that he furnish the State of Missouri with mortars and siege guns for use against the arsenal. Jackson sent Judge William H. Cooke to Richmond, Virginia, to make a similar request of the Governor of that state.⁶⁵ It is not known whether Governor Jackson played any part in the capture of the arsenal at Liberty; its fall to Missouri secessionists on April 20 has already been recounted.

Instead of ordering General Frost and his command alone into encampment, Jackson instructed all militia districts to meet on May 3 for organization and drill, a course of action less likely to arouse suspicion and in full accordance with Federal and State law.

General William S. Harney learned of these plans, and on April 16 he wrote the War Department of his fears that batteries were to be erected commanding the arsenal and asked instructions for meeting the danger.⁶⁶ That same day Lyon sent a personal messenger to Governor Richard Yates of Illinois, asking the Governor to obtain authorization from Washington to hold the troops requested from that state in readiness for use in St. Louis. He also suggested that Yates requisition arms and supplies from the St. Louis arsenal, thus removing them from danger of capture by Missouri forces.⁶⁷ Governor Yates was granted permission to comply with this request, and on April 20 the Secretary of War instructed him to send two or three regiments to support the small garrison at the arsenal. There they were to be armed and equipped, and Governor Yates was authorized an additional 10,000 stand of arms and other supplies from stocks then on hand.⁶⁸

Although entertaining no doubt as to General Harney's loyalty, Frank Blair had become increasingly convinced that the latter was not awake to the danger of action by Governor Jackson. Blair feared

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 148-49.

⁶⁵Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 150-51.

⁶⁶Letter, W. S. Harney to E. D. Townsend, St. Louis, April 16, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 666.

⁶⁷Memorandum, N. Lyon to F. J. Dean, St. Louis Arsenal, April 16, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 667.

⁶⁸Letter, S. Cameron to R. Yates, Washington, April 20, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 669.

that Harney might allow serious damage to national interests in St. Louis before he could be convinced that any action was necessary. To Blair, the brilliant and impetuous Lyon was the one man to handle the situation. Leaving immediately for Washington, where he conferred with Secretary of War Cameron and President Lincoln, he strongly urged Harney's replacement by Lyon. His mission was successful, and on April 21 the War Department issued orders transferring General Harney to Washington and placing Lyon in command. Lyon was also ordered to arm the loyal citizens of St. Louis and to muster into service the four regiments that Governor Jackson had refused to furnish.⁶⁹ These regiments were to be armed and equipped at the arsenal, thus removing still more of the supplies from the threat of capture. On April 26 the last of the arms were removed and sent to Illinois, reducing the arsenal to a shell no longer worth the efforts of the secessionists.⁷⁰

When Governor Jackson heard of this last move by Lyon he sent the State Quartermaster, Brigadier General James Harding, to St. Louis to purchase arms and ammunition for the State from any available source.⁷¹ Although not countermanding his order for the militia encampments, he ordered Frost to establish his camp at some point near the St. Louis city limits where it would not threaten the now useless arsenal.⁷²

Upon reaching Montgomery, Captains Greene and Duke presented Jackson's request for arms and his plan of attack to President Davis. The President was delighted to learn of Jackson's plans and hopes for the future and approved the request at once. He ordered the arms to be furnished by the arsenal at Baton Rouge. On April 23 he wrote Governor Jackson, informing him that two twelve-pounder howitzers and two 32-pounder siege guns were being shipped for use against the arsenal and expressing hope that the "star of Missouri" would soon be added to the "Constellation" of the Confederate States of America.⁷³

Judge Cooke also succeeded in receiving authorization for 22 guns from the State of Virginia,⁷⁴ but this came too late to affect the out-

⁶⁹Letter, L. Thomas to W. S. Harney, Washington, April 21, 1861; Letter, L. Thomas to N. Lyon, Washington, April 21, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 609-70; Order, War Department, Washington, D. C. April 30, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 675.

⁷⁰Snead, *Fight for Missouri*, 175.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 162.

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³Letter, J. Davis to C. F. Jackson, Montgomery, April 23, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 688.

⁷⁴Extract of proceedings of Advisory Council, State of Virginia, May 3, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, II, 798.

come at the arsenal. No record has been found to show whether the guns from Virginia were ever actually sent to Missouri.

The Confederate authorities believed that Governor Jackson's request for arms put Missouri in line to share in the common defense of the Confederacy. Confederate Secretary of War L. P. Walker wrote to the Governor, asking that Missouri furnish a regiment of 60-day volunteers for service as infantry in Virginia.⁷⁵ Governor Jackson replied that he had no legal authority as yet to furnish troops to the Confederacy, as Missouri was still under the "tyranny of the Lincoln Government." He assured Secretary Walker that as soon as the legislature authorized him to act he would comply with the request. Missouri could and would, he said, put 100,000 men in the field for the South, but she had to move cautiously until better prepared.⁷⁶

A week before the Secretary wrote Jackson the Confederate general in command at Memphis, Gideon Pillow, sent a personal messenger to the Governor to help lay plans for action against the arsenal.⁷⁷ The messenger arrived at about the time the arsenal was emptied of its last arms and munitions.

The guns and ammunition from Baton Rouge reached St. Louis on May 8 and were immediately taken to Camp Jackson.⁷⁸ As a result, Lyon captured the camp over the protests of General Frost that the State forces had no intention of attacking the arsenal.⁷⁹ Frost was certainly correct in his contention that Camp Jackson had been established in accordance with Federal and State laws and that it did not at that time constitute any threat to the arsenal. At the same time, there is no doubt as to the validity of Lyon's information that the camp had been originally intended for purposes hostile to the arsenal, and that Frost had in his possession guns captured by the Confederates at Baton Rouge.

Among Governor Jackson's heavy correspondence in April, 1861, were two letters that leave no doubt whatsoever as to his hopes and intentions. On the 19th he wrote to David Walker, a member of the Arkansas State Convention at Fayetteville, that he had believed from the first that all the slaveholding states should separate from the Union. Though admitting that the majority of

⁷⁵Letter, L. P. Walker to C. F. Jackson, Montgomery, April 26, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 689.

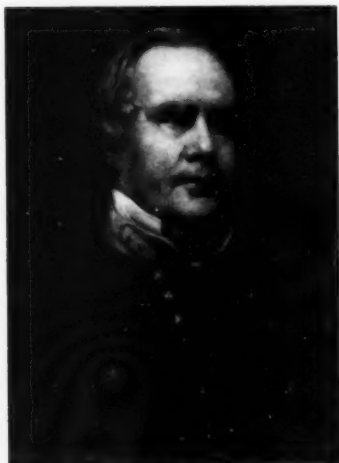
⁷⁶Letter, C. F. Jackson to L. P. Walker, Jefferson City, May 5, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, I, 690.

⁷⁷Letter, G. Pillow to L. P. Walker, Memphis, Tennessee, April 20, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 58-59.

⁷⁸Report, N. Lyon to L. Thomas, St. Louis, May 11, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 4-5.

⁷⁹Letter, D. M. Frost to N. Lyon, St. Louis, May 10, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 5-6; letter, N. Lyon to D. M. Frost, St. Louis, May 10, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 6-7.

Missourians had differed with him in this and that no man could accurately predict the course of their future actions, he believed that Missouri would be ready for secession in less than 30 days.⁸⁰



Strauss Portrait

General Sterling Price

A few days later in a letter to J. W. Tucker, editor of the *State Journal* in St. Louis, Jackson expressed similar sentiments. Missouri, he said, should have gone out of the Union during the winter. But, as she had not done so at that time, she would now have to wait until the legislature armed the State and prepared an adequate defense. He spoke bitterly of Sterling Price and his "submission convention" for refusing to pass an ordinance of secession while convened in St. Louis in March and expressed belief that many delegates had already changed their minds.⁸¹ This letter was captured when Lyon seized the

office of the *State Journal* on July 12. Both it and the letter to Walker were used by the State Convention in July of the same year to justify its action in deposing the State officers.⁸²

One important and influential Missourian who apparently took no definite public stand during the early months of 1861 was Sterling Price. Price, who served with distinction in the Mexican War, had gained a reputation for considerable military ability. He was governor from 1853 until 1857 and was at this time State Bank Commissioner. He was popular with both Democratic and Constitutional Union groups in the State and was therefore a key figure whose stand would be followed by many others.

As early as mid-January, at a dinner given by Lieutenant Governor Reynolds in honor of Dan R. Russell, Commissioner from Mississippi, Price had spoken in favor of the secession of Missouri

⁸⁰Letter, C. F. Jackson to D. Walker, Jefferson City, April 19, 1861, *Missouri Statesman*, August 2, 1861.

⁸¹Letter, C. F. Jackson to J. W. Tucker, Jefferson City, April 28, 1861, Broadhead Papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.

⁸²*Journal, Missouri State Convention, July, 1861, 28-29.*

and had promised to lead his neighbors in defense of the State in case of war.⁸³ Nonetheless, in February he ran for election to the State Convention as a Unionist. He was a leader in the conditional Union group in the Convention, was elected its President, and generally voted as a Union man during its March session.

It was not until after the fall of Camp Jackson and the passage of the militia bill that Price visited Jackson and Reynolds in Jefferson City and offered his services on their side. Jackson was inclined to distrust the President of the "submission convention," and it was at Reynolds' urging that the Governor reluctantly offered him the supreme military command of the State Guard. Reynolds felt that it would be highly advantageous to have Price working closely with them because of his military standing and admitted political prestige.

According to Reynolds, Jackson intended to offer Price the position as brigadier general, but Price was willing to accept the command only with the rank of major general.⁸⁴ The General's subsequent career demonstrated beyond question that he was often motivated by personal ambition and desire for prestige. These elements in his personality may help to explain his apparent vacillation during the early months of 1861. At the same time, he sincerely loved his state and had become thoroughly indignant when Lyon took Camp Jackson. If he was completely honest in his earlier pro-Union stand before the actual outbreak of war, he was only one of many who changed from conditional Union to pro-secessionist sentiments during the spring and summer of 1861.

By the end of the war Price and Reynolds were bitter personal enemies. However the two men worked in close concert until Reynolds' departure from Jefferson City shortly after the middle of May, 1861, the Lieutenant Governor serving as the General's military secretary.⁸⁵ On May 13 they helped Governor Jackson draw up a proclamation to the people of Missouri which elaborated on the Camp Jackson affair and called on all citizens to organize into military companies for immediate service. Secession mass meetings in many parts of the State were reported by the Missouri press.⁸⁶ If the response to the Governor's call proved as whole-

⁸³Thomas C. Reynolds, "General Sterling Price and the Confederacy," (unpublished memoir in Reynolds Papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis) 18-22.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 28.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 22.

⁸⁶*Glasgow Weekly Times*, May 9, 1861; *California News*, May 11, 18, 1861. Other newspapers used in this study were also reporting secession mass meetings in many parts of the State.

hearted as these meetings led Jackson to believe, he intended to recall the State Convention to adopt an ordinance of secession. Jackson and Price both believed that this could be done without immediate interference from Lyon. Reynolds, at least by his own account, was realistic enough to see that it might well mean war at once but felt that even this would be advantageous in lessening pressure on the Confederacy in Virginia. He believed that the contemplated action would probably induce Kentucky to move toward secession too. These plans were not carried out, however, and the proclamation was not used because of Jackson's last minute unwillingness to take overt action until the State was better prepared to resist attack.⁸⁷

Following the Governor's change of mind, Reynolds began to fear that Jackson might attempt to compromise with Lyon and the Federal authorities and that he might even announce Missouri's neutrality in imitation of the Governor of Kentucky. Reynolds' fears as to the Governor's intentions were certainly false, for all available evidence points to the conclusion that Jackson was fully as determined to join the Confederacy as was Reynolds.

Jackson, deliberate and cautious, was now convinced that peaceful secession of the State was no longer possible. He was determined, therefore, to lay the groundwork carefully before acting. He was willing to make tactical retreats and to negotiate agreements with Harney and Lyon that he did not intend to keep in order to gain valuable time for the action he believed was right.⁸⁸ To the impetuous Lieutenant Governor this course of action was not only suspicious but dangerous. In his estimation, delay would result in Federal occupation and control of the State before Missouri could get effective aid from the Confederacy.

Reynolds decided to leave Jefferson City at once and to act on the assumption that Governor Jackson was now held under intimidation and duress by Lyon. He would ask President Davis to send Confederate troops into the State to protect its government and to allow its Governor to act freely again. He took General Price into his confidence, and the General agreed to send with him a similar request, as President of the Convention, asking military protection for that body should it meet to reconsider secession.

⁸⁷Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 25-26.

⁸⁸Jackson's correspondence, some of which has already been cited, as well as the Governor's subsequent actions make it clear that Jackson had no intention of keeping his agreements with the Federal authorities any longer than necessary to gain the time that he needed.

Reynolds and Price decided to conceal from the Governor their plans to request Confederate troops, although Reynolds did tell Jackson of his intention to visit the Confederate States and offered his services as bearer of any communication Jackson might want to send. Jackson informed him that he had already sent a commissioner to the Confederacy but gave no further information.⁸⁹

General Price and the Lieutenant Governor left the capital on the same day, May 20, Reynolds to confer with the Confederate authorities and Price to meet with General Harney, who had been returned to his command in St. Louis. At the time Reynolds did not know of the type of agreement that Jackson had empowered Price to make. Jackson apparently felt that Reynolds might interfere if he learned of the agreement ahead of time. Jackson was well aware of the Lieutenant Governor's dislike for any compromise with the Federal authorities. It is indeed a strange and, for them, unfortunate thing that these men who were so passionately devoted to the same cause felt it necessary to keep so many of their actions secret from each other, while their only hope for success lay in complete understanding and in concerted planning and action.

Upon reaching Fort Smith, Arkansas, Reynolds learned of the Price-Harney agreement⁹⁰ with considerable surprise and chagrin.⁹¹ This agreement, if adhered to faithfully by General Price and the Governor, would checkmate Reynolds' own plan, to which the General had agreed so warmly. While at Fort Smith, Reynolds conferred briefly with the Confederate General, Ben McCulloch, and then went on to the state capital. In Little Rock he met Aaron H. Conrow, who had been sent by Governor Jackson to request arms from the State of Arkansas. After consultation, they agreed that Reynolds should proceed to Memphis and await further word from Missouri. If it developed that Governor Jackson actually intended to abide by the agreement with Harney, Reynolds was to enter the State and issue a proclamation assuming the governorship on the grounds that Jackson was a prisoner in the capital and unable to act in his constitutional capacity. The proclamation would call upon the people to rally to Reynolds so that an army might be formed to liberate the State and the Governor.⁹²

⁸⁹Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 29-32.

⁹⁰This agreement provided for resistance by the Missouri State Guard against any move by Confederate forces into the State. See *O. R. R.*, I, III, 375.

⁹¹Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 34.

⁹²*Ibid.*, 35-36.

After reaching Memphis and conferring with a number of prominent Missourians recently arrived from the State,⁹³ Reynolds decided against taking this extreme step, at least for the time being. He determined to carry out the original plan that he had formulated with General Price, and on June 3 he wrote President Davis about the matter. In this official letter Reynolds, as Lieutenant Governor of Missouri, enclosed a copy of General Harney's proclamation of May 14 and copies of resolutions passed by the special session of the General Assembly expressing the pro-Southern sentiments of that body.⁹⁴ He told Davis that fully two-thirds and perhaps three-fourths of the people of Missouri favored secession and membership in the Confederacy, but that the Federal authorities were preventing either the convening of the State Convention to take such action or the holding of a popular referendum.⁹⁵

According to Reynolds' analysis, Governor Jackson had no constitutional authority to request aid because Missouri was still one of the United States, and Jackson was virtually a prisoner anyway. He, however, as Lieutenant Governor and presiding officer of the Senate and of the entire general assembly when meeting in joint session, had the authority to arrest anyone guilty of disturbing their deliberations when in actual session. "I conceived it to be but a small extension of this authority," he said, "for me to take necessary measures to put down those who intend to disturb those deliberations by possibly even preventing a session." The general assembly had adjourned to meet in Jefferson City on the third day of September, a session which Reynolds believed would be stopped, if possible, by Federal troops, as had occurred in Maryland. He officially requested that Davis send troops to accompany him to Jefferson City to protect the coming session of the legislature. If Davis agreed to this request, he said, he intended to return to Missouri and call upon all her citizens to rally to him and to provide

⁹³Reynolds did not name any of these men in his discussion of the subject in his memoir.

⁹⁴Letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. Davis, Memphis, Tennessee, June 3, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 692-94.

⁹⁵This estimate of public opinion in the State must be considered in the light of Reynolds' personal hopes and his desire to impress Davis with Missouri's importance to the Confederacy. Although secessionist sentiment was indeed growing in Missouri, he can have had no accurate basis for his extreme optimism. General Price and other Missouri leaders assured Davis throughout the war that "one more campaign" would bring from 50,000 to 100,000 men from Missouri into the Confederate Army. (Letters, S. Price to J. Davis, Pineville, Missouri, November 10, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 734-36; letter, S. Price to J. Davis, Osceola, Missouri, December 16, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, VIII, 714-15; letter, S. Price to E. K. Smith, Camden, Arkansas, July 23, 1864, *O. R. R.*, I, XLI, II, 1,023-24.)

an army which, with the nucleus of Confederate troops, would redeem the State.

With this official correspondence Reynolds enclosed the communication from General Price requesting aid as President of the State Convention.⁹⁶ Reynolds, at least later, believed that he had also included a personal letter to the President, fully explaining affairs in Missouri as he saw them and outlining his own plans.⁹⁷

In the meantime, Governor Jackson's personal emissary, Edward Carington Cabell, had arrived in Richmond and was conferring with the President and other Confederate leaders in an attempt to secure military aid for Missouri. The exact date of his arrival in Richmond is not known, but he later told Reynolds that he had been at work "long before" the outbreak of actual warfare in Missouri. However, Reynolds suspected that Cabell may have been instructed to defer opening negotiations unless and until such an outbreak actually occurred.⁹⁸

Cabell's efforts had been unsuccessful; so, hearing of Reynolds' presence in Memphis, he telegraphed him to come to Richmond at once. This telegram arrived about the time that Reynolds received word of Jackson's conference with Lyon and the state of war that followed.⁹⁹ He left immediately for the Confederate capital, where he arrived on June 19.¹⁰⁰ President Davis, whose views had changed since his correspondence with Jackson concerning the St. Louis arsenal in April, had already written the Governor refusing aid on the constitutional grounds that he could deal with him only after a convention had taken proper action to withdraw the State from the Federal union.¹⁰¹ He did not tell Jackson the other reasons that he soon gave to Reynolds and Cabell.

Cabell met Reynolds' train, and they immediately sought an interview with the President, hoping to secure immediate armed intervention in behalf of Governor Jackson and his forces, now that they were actually engaged in armed resistance against Federal authority. President Davis agreed to a conference with them to be

⁹⁶Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 39.

⁹⁷Letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. Davis, St. Louis, November 13, 1880, Reynolds Papers, St. Louis.

⁹⁸Letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. Davis, St. Louis, January 20, 1880, Reynolds Papers, St. Louis.

⁹⁹Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 41.

¹⁰⁰Dispatch, *Mobile Register*, June 19, 1861, cited in *Missouri Statesman*, July 5, 1861.

¹⁰¹Letter, J. Davis to C. F. Jackson, Richmond, June 15, 1861, cited in letter, E. C. Cabell to J. Davis, Richmond, July 9, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 707.

held the following day. The meeting was attended also by Secretary of State Robert Toombs and Secretary of War L. P. Walker; and the whole question of aid to Missouri was threshed out. Reynolds and Cabell exerted their utmost effort to convince Davis of Jackson's intentions and good faith, pointing out the irrefutable fact that Jackson was resisting Federal forces in Missouri and was then in retreat toward the Arkansas line.

President Davis, while assuring the Missourians of his sympathy for their State and gratification at her brave resistance, remained highly suspicious of Governor Jackson. The latter, he said, had blessed the Price-Harney agreement, promising to resist any Confederate thrust into Missouri, and at the same time requested, through Cabell, that such troops be sent into the State. How, the President asked coldly, could he be sure that Jackson would not even yet come to an agreement with the Lincoln government and turn upon the troops sent to his aid by the Confederacy? Davis felt that he had been the victim of double dealing and insult, and that the Confederate forces would have been welcomed or opposed, depending upon what terms Jackson could make with the United States.

Although Reynolds himself had so recently felt doubt concerning Jackson's actions, he seems to have been fully convinced of the Governor's sincerity after learning of his defiance of Lyon. Reynolds and his companion attempted to convince the President that Jackson and Price had merely resorted to a ruse to gain time for arming the State. Davis remained largely unconvinced, however, repeating that Jackson's actions were evidence of vacillation bordering on bad faith to himself.¹⁰²

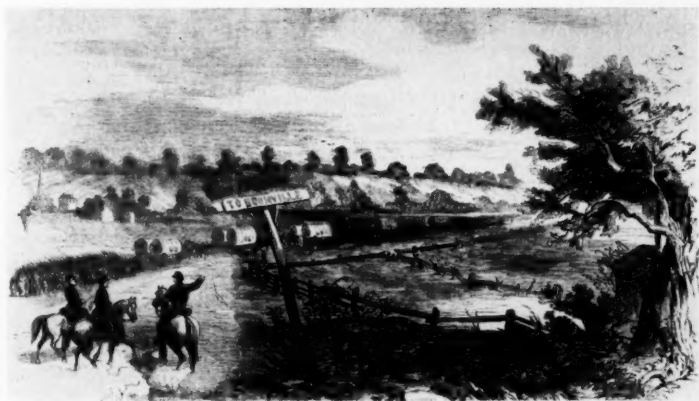
President Davis can hardly be blamed for adopting this attitude, since Price and Jackson had agreed to resist any invasion of the State by Confederate forces. Moreover, this agreement was made after Jackson had sent Cabell to request aid. Jackson had clearly been jockeying for time, and the bad faith he exhibited was toward General Harney, not President Davis. Nonetheless, the President was naturally doubtful of him under the circumstances.

Reynolds reported that after waiting impatiently for two days, during which he visited old acquaintances in the city, he and Cabell received a message from Davis officially rejecting their request on

¹⁰²Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 42-43; letters, T. C. Reynolds to J. Davis, St. Louis, January 20, 1880, and November 13, 1880, Reynolds Papers, St. Louis.

the patently feeble excuse that the Confederate States could legally treat only with a state convention.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, this refusal to deal with Governor Jackson did not mean a final decision to refuse military aid. On the 26th of the month, just four days later, the Secretary of War wrote General Ben McCulloch, authorizing him to give whatever help was possible to the Missouri Governor and militia. General McCulloch, who was stationed in Northwest Arkansas, was to continue giving first priority to the main purpose of his command, the protection of Arkansas and the Indian Territory.¹⁰⁴

On June 25, just before leaving Richmond, Reynolds suggested to Davis that if Confederate forces were sent into Missouri they should be accompanied by as many Missourians as possible. He suggested that Cabell himself be attached to the staff of the general commanding the expedition as *aide-de-camp*. He mentioned Cabell, he said, because of his high standing in Missouri and because of his wide acquaintance with her civil and military officers. Cabell had had some experience as a militia officer.¹⁰⁵ Davis referred Reynolds' letter to Cabell for his opinion, evidently thinking well of the idea himself. Cabell had already been consulted by the Lieutenant Governor and immediately accepted, in case Davis should see fit to use him.¹⁰⁶



Harper's Weekly, July 27, 1861

General Lyon and His Command Leave Boonville for Arkansas

¹⁰³ Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 43-44.

¹⁰⁴ Letter, L. P. Walker to B. McCulloch, Richmond, June 26, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 599.

¹⁰⁵ Letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. Davis, Richmond, June 25, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 599.

¹⁰⁶ Letter, E. C. Cabell to J. Davis, Richmond, July 2, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 600-01.

Having been at least partly successful in his mission, Reynolds returned to Tennessee to consult with Confederate leaders there and with a number of refugees just arrived from Missouri. On July 8, urged by several of these exiles, he issued from Nashville a message to the people of Missouri in his capacity as Lieutenant Governor.¹⁰⁷ He wrote, Reynolds said, to explain his temporary absence from the State. After briefly discussing his differences with Governor Jackson over the matter of compromise with Federal authorities, he described his own efforts in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia to further the solidarity of Missouri with the Confederacy. Although he had received no communication from the Governor since leaving Jefferson City on May 20, he knew of Jackson's proclamation and of his "brave" fight against Northern aggression. Reynolds urged Missourians to arm themselves and to rally to the Governor whenever possible, but he cautioned them to avoid rash and premature actions when there was no hope of success, as this could only make their lot worse. In conclusion, he announced his availability at all times in case an "unfortunate vacancy" should occur in the executive department.

This message was published in many newspapers in Tennessee and Arkansas as the only means of reaching those for whom it was intended. It reached the wrong hands, too, for it was used by the State Convention later in the month to justify declaring Reynolds' office vacant.

Meanwhile, Major Cabell remained in Richmond, constant in his efforts in behalf of Missouri and her fugitive governor. He continued writing the Confederate President, asking reconsideration of his refusal to deal with Governor Jackson. In a personal letter to Davis he even withdrew his offer to go into Missouri with a Confederate force, insisting that he could not face his friends at home until he had succeeded in his mission of establishing cordial relations between the government of his state and the Confederacy. Cabell suggested that the Provisional Congress, which was to convene within two weeks, might authorize the President to take action in Missouri which he then felt to be beyond his powers.¹⁰⁸ Two days later Cabell received an answer which ignored his decision not to accompany a military expedition into Missouri and coldly informed him that the President was much too busy for further

¹⁰⁷Little Rock *Arkansas State Gazette*, July 20, 1861.

¹⁰⁸Letter, E. C. Cabell to J. Davis, Richmond, July 6, 1861, O. R. R., I, III, 605.

useless discussion of questions of the constitutional power of the executive.¹⁰⁹ Davis' reiteration of sympathy for the embattled Missouri State Guard can scarcely have made Cabell feel any better.

Despite this rebuff, Cabell made one more effort before dropping the subject. After carefully working out his reply over night, he wrote the President that he had no intention of discussing "questions of the constitutional power of the executive," but that conditions in Missouri now urgently and clearly justified executive action to provide open support for Missouri's fugitive government. Such action, he said, would encourage the people of Missouri and result in much good for the State and for the entire Confederacy as well.¹¹⁰

The commissioner now turned his attention to Vice President Alexander Stephens, with whom he had become friendly. He begged Stephens to intercede with Davis and to encourage the President to negotiate directly with Governor Jackson.¹¹¹ The Vice President agreed to try, and shortly afterwards he discussed the matter with the President. President Davis repeated to Stephens his lack of confidence in Jackson and his unwillingness to negotiate with him. According to Reynolds' account, Davis suggested that if Jackson were to resign, allowing Reynolds to assume the governorship, he would be glad to consult further with the latter.¹¹²

Stephens seems to have conveyed Davis' suggestion to Cabell, who immediately telegraphed Reynolds to return to Richmond. Reynolds had learned by then that Governor Jackson was on his way to Richmond and refused to consider Davis' suggestion, at least at that time.¹¹³ He later reported that he wrote directly to Davis as soon as he received the telegram, again urging him to have full confidence in Jackson and to cooperate with him.¹¹⁴ In September, Cabell reported the whole story to Reynolds while both were at

¹⁰⁹Letter, J. Davis to E. C. Cabell, Richmond, July 8, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, III, 605-06.

¹¹⁰Letter, E. C. Cabell to J. Davis, Richmond, July 9, 1861, *O. R. R.*, I, LIII, 707.

¹¹¹Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 45.

¹¹²*Ibid.* 45-46; letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. Davis, St. Louis, November 13, 1880, Reynolds Papers, St. Louis. It seems somewhat strange that President Davis should have made such a proposal; yet the fact that Reynolds discussed it at some length in his letter to Davis written several years after the war lends support to Reynolds' earlier statement in his memoir.

¹¹³Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 46.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.* 48; letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. Davis, St. Louis, November 13, 1880, Reynolds Papers, St. Louis. This letter has not been found, but again his discussion of the matter with Davis after the war leads to the conclusion that Reynolds was honest in his statement that he had written it.

Columbus, Kentucky, and again Reynolds expressed confidence in Jackson and great respect for him.¹¹⁵

Missouri's position and influence in the Confederacy and her ability to contribute in any important way to the common cause were jeopardized from the beginning by these unfortunate events, and by the clash of personalities among her leaders and between them and the Confederate Government.

Although Governor Jackson and Lieutenant Governor Reynolds were in basic agreement as to objectives and respected each other personally, they were far apart on tactical procedures. Reynolds could clearly foresee, and repeatedly warned of, the consequences of delay. He believed that the only hope of holding Missouri for the Confederacy lay in quick occupation of the State by Confederate forces before Lyon could move to control the rivers and the rail lines. Governor Jackson, seeking time to prepare the State for defense, followed a policy of delay and in the end played into Lyon's hands.

Jackson's policy, exemplified by the agreement with General Harney, resulted in distrust on the part of the Confederate authorities at a time when a maximum of confidence and cooperation was essential. Davis considered Jackson's actions extremely dishonorable and suspicious. His fear of betrayal and an exaggerated sense of personal affront, of the type often mentioned by his biographers, led him to hesitate in complying with the urgent requests of Cabell and Reynolds. General McCullouch did cooperate temporarily with Price, and Confederate troops under General Gideon Pillow entered Southeast Missouri, but too late to prevent the Federal occupation and control which was never seriously threatened during the entire course of the war.

¹¹⁵Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 47. In his letter of November 13, 1880, Reynolds spoke of the meeting with Cabell as taking place in October. His earlier account must have been more accurate, since there can hardly have been a time for such a meeting in October. Cabell returned to Richmond at the end of September, after seeing Jackson in Lexington, Missouri, during the occupation of that city by General Price.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING THE SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months of November and December, 1960, and January, 1961, the following members of the Society have increased its membership as indicated:

ONE LIFE MEMBER

Wheeler, O. V., Jr., and family, Columbia

FORTY-ONE NEW MEMBERS

Elliott, R. Kenneth, Liberty

SIXTEEN NEW MEMBERS

Moreland, Arley L., Clinton

THIRTEEN NEW MEMBERS

Neal, Mrs. R. Pinson, Columbia

TEN NEW MEMBERS

Kelly, Clement T., St. Louis

EIGHT NEW MEMBERS

Ihrig, B. B., Smithton

Long, Mrs. Lula C., Potosi

Welliver, Warren D., Columbia

SEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Mayfield, Robert, Jefferson City

FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Crause, C. Gilbert, Apple Valley, California

Nichols, Thomas S., Arnold

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Day, Mrs. R. A., Jefferson City

Keith, Mary E., Maryville

McFarland, Annah, Richland

Robinson, Mrs. Frank F., St. Joseph

Woodward, W. A., Chadron, Nebraska

Yarnell, Mrs. Ilene Sims, Versailles

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Baker, Mrs. Lewis D., Carbondale, Ill.

Bates, Mr. and Mrs. William H., Columbia

Beckett, William W., Columbia

Caylor, John A., Nevada

Gilleland, Mrs. Howard, New Cambria

Harris, L. Herbert, Phoenix, Arizona

Huff, Fred W., Kansas City

Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, Fulton

Myers, Mrs. R. Frank, Kansas City

Smith, Allen H., Webster Groves

Thaxton, John Q., Raton, N. Mex.

Uhlmann, R. Hugh, Kansas City

Warford, William S., Quincy, Ill.

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Allaman, Rex, Forsyth	Martin, R. Brawdus, St. Petersburg, Fla.
Breen, George F., Brookfield	Mitchell, T. C., Jr., Jefferson City
Davis, Joseph H., St. Louis	Murray, James E., Kansas City
Davis, Maude G., Santa Monica, Calif.	Owen, Mrs. Aubrey S., Kansas City
Desloge, Marcel, St. Louis	Parry, Mrs. Mary Banks, Columbia
Dietrich, Benj. E., Cape Girardeau	Peoples, Mrs. Martha, Cut Bank, Mont.
Fisher, Mrs. Lucy B., Springfield	Powelson, Mrs. R. O., St. Joseph
Gerard, W. F., Columbia	Presnell, Charles, Jefferson City
Harris, L. Herbert, Phoenix, Ariz.	Roadcap, Mrs. E. L., Independence
Heare, Georgia, Collins	Smith, Mrs. Robert C., Jr., Columbia
Heiman, Jim, Prairie Village, Kansas	Somerville, George W., Chillicothe
James, Mrs. Robert F., Excelsior Springs	Todd, Jim, Moberly
Lorie, Percy S., Kansas City	Williams, Mrs. Thomas A., Marceline
McDaniel, Olin S., Bonne Terre	Wirt, Elsie, Kansas City
Mackey, Mrs. L. L., Sturgeon	

ONE NEW MEMBER

Amos, J. Farrell, Kansas City	Eldridge, William E., Liberty
Andrus, Charles E., Fayetteville, Ark.	Elmer, Mrs. S. T., Jr., St. Louis
Antonius, Sister Mary, St. Louis	Faries, Mrs. Clyde, Flat River
Atkinson, Mrs. Guy, Rogersville	Fenton, John S., Kansas City
Aylor, R. B., Jefferson City	Franklin, A. Faye, Independence
Barnard, Mrs. J. F., Palenville, N. Y.	Gentry, Susannah C., Independence
Barnhill, F. C., Marshall	Ginsburg, Mrs. R. W., Friona, Texas
Bell, Charles P., Columbia	Griesbaum, Edgar J., Afton
Bentley, Jordan R., Sr., Salisbury	Gross, Gertrude F., Boonville
Black, Mrs. Charlotte, St. Louis	Hall, James P., Lexington
Blaney, Alva N., St. Louis	Hammon, J. W., Springfield
Booth, Shirley W., Rich Hill	Hanes, Mrs. C. O., Jefferson City
Brown, Clarah Frances, Marshall	Hansbro, J. L., Marshall
Busch, Gordion O., Union	Harmon, Lloyd, Kansas City, Kans.
Carver, Marvin, Mt. Vernon	Hedgepeth, Mrs. T. H., Cassville
Chevans, Mrs. John P., Columbia	Herzberger, Richard, Lemay
Collier, Mrs. Ethel C., Laramie, Wyo.	Hewitt, Cres, Shelbyville
Cooper, Mrs. Nell, Slater	Hofman, Mercedes, Norborne
Dallmeyer, W. E., Jr., Jefferson City	Hopper, Lawrence L., Independence
Daniel, Frances P., Oklahoma City, Okla.	Huff, Charlie H., Mercedes, Texas
Daniel, W. H., Cape Girardeau	Hutchins, Mrs. Lloyd E., Fulton
Davis, Mrs. George W., Napton	Hyder, Tena B., Excelsior Springs
DeGaris, Louise, Oklahoma City, Okla.	Iseminger, Marion, Warrensburg
DeLaPorte, Mary, Osceola	Jackson, Ellis O., Marshfield
Dietzler, John P., Webster Groves	Johnston, Mrs. P. B., Lincoln, Ill.
Dillinger, Mrs. Hinda, St. Louis	Jones, E. E., Lilbourn
Dougherty, James, Kirkwood	Jones, J. K., Stotts City
Eastbrook, Mrs. Minerva, Lexington	Kennard, Mrs. F. J., Sulphur Springs, Ark.
Eichenlaub, Martin, Bonne Terre	Kinkee, K. C., Esparto, California

McCormick, Mamie J., Sedalia
 McDonald, John J., Carrollton
 Mackey, Claude, Kansas City
 Martin, Edwin W., Belmont, Mass.
 Moore, Mrs. Clifton, Doniphan
 Mullaly, Mrs. Thomas M., Kansas City
 Murray, James E., Kansas City
 Nutter, E. Eugene, Cape Girardeau
 Oakes, Fay W., Crystal City
 Okenfuss, Vera, Ste. Genevieve
 Pace, Mr. and Mrs. George, Hannibal
 Pitts, Presley W., Liberty
 Potter, Mrs. C. E., St. Louis
 Roberts, Mrs. Charles D., Wyaconda
 Robinson, Edna P., Sturgeon
 Robinson, Frank L., Los Angeles, Calif.
 Sach-Rowitz, Alvan, Moose Lake, Minn.
 Sarasin, Mrs. Walter A., Kansas City
 Sarcoxie Nurseries, Sarcoxie
 Schaefer, Paul A., Jefferson City
 Schulte, Mrs. O. L., St. Joseph
 Scott, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar, Caruthersville
 Sheldon, Mrs. V. B., Hannibal
 Shippee, Charles L., Holt

Sidebottom, Ralph B., Springfield
 Sinclair, Elmer, Potosi
 Smith, Ben N., Boonville
 Smith, Mrs. Lawrence F., Mission, Kans.
 Smith, Winston R., Moberly
 Steele, W. D., Chillicothe
 Suttle, Harry L., Springfield
 Taul, Mrs. Soper J., Liberty
 Taylor, Tom, Columbia
 Thomason, Mrs. W. O., Van Buren
 Thomson, A. Cal, Salem
 Towne, Ruth W., Kirksville
 Treat, Mrs. C. Parker, Hannibal
 Trimble, Mrs. James T., Kearney
 Trosper, Bab Bell, Monroe City
 Tucker, William C., Warrensburg
 Watson, Mrs. Ralph K., St. Charles
 Watters, Ballard, Marshfield
 Weiss, Mrs. Gilbert, St. Louis
 Whitlow, Mrs. W. B., Fulton
 Wightman, Fred, Claremont, Calif.
 Williams, Mrs. A. F., Clinton
 Williams, Zulu Ethel, Lamar
 Wilson, Mrs. George O., Kansas City
 Winton, J. F., Herndon, Virginia
 York, Robert J., Independence

NEW MEMBERS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Five hundred seventy applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months of November and December, 1960, and January, 1961. The total annual and life memberships as of February 1, 1961, was 12,556.

The new members are:

Adams City Senior High School,
 Adams City, Colorado
 Adams, Frank O., Avondale
 Adkins, Mr. and Mrs. Elgin, St. Marys,
 West Virginia
 Akin, Carol Jean, Kansas City
 Alt, Mrs. J. E., Des Moines, Iowa
 Anderson, Clay M., Mundelein, Ill.
 Anderson, V. C., Kansas City
 Andrews-Derfler, Mrs. Bessie, Kansas City
 Antonius, Sister Mary, St. Louis

Argyle, L. E., Deer Park, Texas
 Armstrong, Dixie, Carlsbad, New Mex.
 Armstrong, Mrs. Elizabeth, Kansas City, Kansas
 Armstrong, P. R. M., Columbia
 Arnold, Sterling, Kansas City
 Ashburn, Margaret A., Bonne Terre
 Babcock, Grafton, Liberty
 Baker, Allen, Columbia
 Baker, Jack M., Carbondale, Illinois
 Baker, James M., Columbia

- Baker, Raymond E., Jr., Brookfield
LIFE
- Balsamo, Larry, Columbia
- Barnard, Mrs. Emma S., Palenville,
N. Y.
- Barnett, James, Parkville
- Barnidge, Thomas O., Afton
- Barr, Richard M., Kansas City
- Bartee, M. A., Sturgeon
- Bates, Edward B., West Hartford,
Conn.
- Bates, Mrs. Worth, Lexington
- Baze, Dryden, Metz
- Beck, Mrs. A. B., Stotts City
- Becker, Thomas W., St. Louis
- Beckett, Earl F., Columbia
- Bedinger, George, Liberty
- Bell, Charles W., Springfield
- Bell, Jim, Los Angeles, Calif.
- Bentley, Jordan R., Jr., New York,
N. Y.
- Bergston, Chuck, Kansas City
- Bettis, Mr. and Mrs. George, Okla-
homa City, Oklahoma
- Bidstrup, Mrs. Perry, Independence
- Bindbeutel, Charlotte, Florissant
- Bishop, Mrs. W. Watt, Salisbury
- Bittiker, Mrs. Myrtle, Eolia
- Blackburn, John L., University, Ala.
- Bluhm, Mrs. Maurine, Smithton
- Bogue, Charles, Duluth, Minn.
- Borton, M. F., Kansas City
- Bouchard, Myrtle, Cadet
- Bowdish, Mr. and Mrs. Palmer,
Marshall
- Bowdle, Blanche, Long Beach, Calif.
- Bowen, Mrs. L. Roy, St. Louis
- Bowles, Richard P., Liberty
- Bradford, Brett, Mexico LIFE
- Brady, Clay M., St. Louis
- Bragdon, Earl D., Maryville
- Branstetter, Paul, North Kansas City
- Brawner, Mrs. James N., Sr., Atlanta,
Georgia
- Brennecke, Mrs. Lucas, Arnold
- Brenner, David, Parkville
- Brenner, Emery, North Kansas City
- Brenner, Lowell, Parkville
- Brenton, Thurlan, North Kansas City
- Brideman, Jill, Jefferson City
- Brinner, Richard, St. Louis
- Bromsen, Maury A., Boston, Mass.
- Brown, Mr. and Mrs. W. C., Jr., Over-
land Park, Kansas
- Brown, W. L., Walker
- Browning, W. Baker, Carrollton
- Bruening, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H., Jr.,
Kansas City
- Bryan, Mrs. Fred B., Hannibal
- Buckman, Mr. and Mrs. Russell, Cadet
- Bulkeley, Richard, Kansas City
- Burd, William Orel, Richland
- Burress, Fred R., Liberty
- Burt, Mildred, Fulton
- Burke, H. P. S., Monett
- Burns, Laurence, Ulrich
- Busch, Charles, Bothel, Wash.
- Caleb, David, Kansas City
- Campbell, Mrs. Edward B., Kansas
City
- Cantrell, Betty, Marshfield
- Capper, James A., Independence
- Carr, Gene, Kansas City
- Carr, Henry C., Kirkwood
- Carroll, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar, Sikeston
- Carter, Mrs. Lawrence V., St. Louis
- Cecil, Byron R., Kansas City
- Chenault, Mrs. John M., Decatur, Ala.
- Chesser, Mrs. John C., Auburn, Ga.
- Christensen, Mr. and Mrs. Roger,
Louisiana
- Clanton, Floyd, Marionville
- Clawson, Mrs. E. A., Lexington
- Coble, A. B., Vansant
- Cochran, Mrs. J. Rogers, Columbia
- Cochran, Wallace, Washington, D. C.
- Cocke, Janet, St. Louis
- Coger, Mrs. Olin S., Atlanta, Ga.
- Conway, Dorothy, New Madrid
- Cook, Mrs. C. L., Joplin
- Cooper, J. V., Williamsville
- Cooper, John R., Liberty
- Copeland, Mrs. Wayne, Independence
- Coughenour, R. S., Rockaway Beach
- Cowan, Mrs. John P., Falls Church,
Virginia
- Crabtree, Mrs. Clarence, Bethany
- Crause, Charles E., Redlands, Calif.

- Crause, Paul J., Pine Bluff, Ark.
 Crause, Mrs. Ralph J., St. Louis
 Creech, Joan M., Troy
 Crider, Julian J., Ft. Worth, Texas
 Cross, Steven R., Jefferson City
 Crowder, David R., Kansas City
 Crutcher, Florence J., St. Louis
 Crutsinger, R. M., Kirkwood
 Culbertson, Mrs. Margaret Magill, Perry LIFE
 Cullom, William H., Lexington
 Cummins, Paul H., North Kansas City
 Cunningham, Donald H., Columbia
 Currie, Mr. and Mrs. Paul, Caruthersville
 Curry, Robert, Kansas City
 Curtis, Mrs. Walker L., College Park, Ga.
 Damon, Mrs. Alice A., Kansas City
 Daniels, Michael Alan, Cape Girardeau
 Darby, Mrs. Warren, Preston
 Dautel, Helen, Salisbury
 Davidson, Dagmar, Independence
 Davis, Lee, Kansas City, Kansas
 Davis, Maude G., Santa Monica, Calif.
 Dawson, Frances O., Los Angeles, Calif.
 Day, Donald R., Salina, Kansas
 Day, Ralph A., Jefferson City
 Dean, Frank, Clinton
 Deardeuff, Mrs. Mildred, Kansas City
 Degenhardt, Paul, Jr., Kansas City
 Dell, Mrs. S. E., Van Buren
 DeMasters, James B., Overland Park, Kansas
 Denning, Mr. and Mrs. J. A., Jefferson City
 Desloge Public Library, Desloge
 Detzel, Donald J., Rockville, Md.
 Dietrich, Roy K., Kansas City
 Dixon, Kenneth R., Richland
 Dodds, Harold L., Monroe City
 Dohogne, Robert J., Chaffee
 Doll, Mr. and Mrs. P. A., Jefferson City
 Douglass, Tom, Columbia
 Edmunds, Mrs. Nettie, Santa Monica, California
 Edwards, K. Dale, Kansas City
 Eichman, Earl N., Independence
 Ellington, Josh, North Kansas City
 Elliott, R. Kenneth, Liberty LIFE
 Elsberry High School Library, Elsberry
 Engelland, Mr. and Mrs. G. E., St. Louis
 Erwin, Mrs. Mary, Shelbyville
 Estes, Ed, Fulton
 Evans, Mrs. Guy, Springfield
 Evans, Mr. and Mrs. Todd, Columbia
 Ewart, Mrs. Troy, Independence
 Ewing, D. E., Kansas City
 Farmer, Sandra, Richland
 Farr, Charles, St. Louis
 Femmer, Bert, New Madrid
 Ferrenburg, Mrs. G. L., Anderson
 Ficke, David E., St. Louis, Ill. LIFE
 Fisher, J. B., Bolivar
 Flack, Vesta, Kansas City
 Flanary, J. C., Kansas City
 Fletchall, Mrs. Oran, Stanberry
 Fondren Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas
 Fordham, Mrs. Ray, Brookfield
 Foster, Mrs. Anna, Clarksburg
 Fraker, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, Cranford, New Jersey
 Frank, Mary Sturgeon, Montgomery City
 Freund, Ruth, Kansas City
 Frevert, E. J., Liberty
 Fulbright, Mrs. Dona, Jackson
 Funk, Gene, North Kansas City
 Funk, Newton J., St. Petersburg, Fla.
 Gambon, James, Hazelwood
 Garvin, Mrs. Wilma Peery, Kansas City
 Gaudette, Paul, St. Louis
 Gibson, Cecil, Columbia
 Gibson, Mr. and Mrs. J. D., Columbia
 Gillaspie, William A., Jupiter, Fla.
 Ginsburg, Howard D., Lawton, Okla.
 Glenbow Foundations, Calgary, Alberta, Canada
 Gorsuch, Anna, Maryville
 Gould, E. A., Kansas City
 Graham, Mrs. Avis, Maryville
 Gray, William P., Los Angeles, Calif.
 Green, Robert S., Mexico LIFE

- Greenwood, Mrs. Alma, Breckenridge
 Gregory, Patrick, University City
 Griffin, George, III, Smithton
 Grindler, Frank J., Greenville, South Carolina
 Guensche, Chas. W., St. Louis
 Gum, Harmon F., Long Beach, Calif.
 Haddix, E. J., Schell City
 Hague, Misses Martha and Ann, St. Joseph
 Hahn, Mrs. Ed V., Bethany
 Halbert, Sherrill, Sacramento, California LIFE
 Haley, H. B., Fulton
 Haley, Mrs. Jennie, St. Louis
 Hall, Joseph P., North Kansas City
 Hamacher, M. E., Overland
 Hamilton, Glenn G., Kansas City
 Hammen, Thomas, McCredie
 Handlan, Mrs. E. R., Webster Groves
 Hanes, Bailey C., Guthrie, Okla.
 Hansbro, Gerald L., Phoenix, Ariz.
 Hardin, M. Guy, Jr., Kirkwood
 Harlow, Mrs. Maude, Joplin
 Harrill, Dewey, Lebanon
 Harris, Mr. and Mrs. Charles, Doniphan
 Harris, Mr. and Mrs. Fred, Montour, Iowa
 Harris, Mr. and Mrs. Sam, Poplar Bluff
 Harrison, Joseph, Newark, N. J.
 Hart, W. D., Deepwater
 Harty, Harry L., Jr., McLean, Va.
 Haston, Ivan, Jr., Skokie, Illinois
 Hay, Harley, Boonville
 Hayes, Mrs. Ruth, Arnold
 Heath, Albert J., Deepwater
 Henderson, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph, Sr., Rushville
 Hendrich, Louise J., St. Louis
 Hepple, Mrs. Lawrence M., Columbia
 Herzog, Stanley M., St. Joseph
 Heyssel, Mr. and Mrs. Robert M., Nashville, Tennessee
 Hill, Joe, St. Louis
 Hinkee, E. P., St. Helena, California
 Hinton, Mrs. John, Columbia
 Hobbs, Mrs. E. E., Jefferson City
 Hoehns, L. W., Smithton
 Hoffman, Donald, Kansas City
 Hoffman, Herbert C., Kansas City LIFE
 Hogan, Ray, Albuquerque, New Mexico
 Holdman, John L., North Kansas City
 Holmes, Jack D. L., Lake Charles, La.
 Holtgrieve, M. M., Webster Groves
 Homan, Sadie, Smithton
 Hornsey, Mr. and Mrs. Fred P., Ft. Myers, Florida
 Householder, Mrs. Irene, West Plains
 Houston, Mrs. Thelma L., Kansas City
 Houston Reorganized School District No. 1, Houston
 Howard, Mrs. Kelford W., Portsmouth, Virginia
 Hoy, William T., North Kansas City
 Huber, Paul A., Ste. Genevieve
 Hudson, Conrad L., Cape Girardeau
 Huff, Fred E., Kansas City
 Hughes, Edward E., College Park, Md.
 Hulett, Mrs. R. L., Columbia
 Humphries, John, Chillicothe
 Hundley, Mrs. Louis K., Pine Bluff, Ark.
 Huttshell, Ray, Clinton
 Inskeep, Mr. and Mrs. Earl S., Pleasant Hill
 Iseminger, Steve, Warrensburg
 James, Charles E., Liberty
 James, Mrs. Rose E., Sedalia
 Jennens, W. C., Kansas City LIFE
 Jenny, Mrs. Alice L., Riverside, Calif.
 Jesse, Mr. and Mrs. Randall S., Kansas City
 Johnson, Edward B., Jefferson City
 Johnson, Richard A., Brookfield
 Johnson, Mrs. Robert S., Sedalia
 Johnston, Frances, Lamar
 Jones, Oletha, Tampa, Florida
 Jordan, Vandel, Salisbury
 Kadel, Mrs. Keith, Springfield
 Kauffman, Mrs. John, Wellington
 Kautzman, Mrs. Corrine A., Kansas City
 Keeney, F. O. R., Liberty
 Kelling, Mrs. Jordan, Waverly
 Kelso, Mrs. Joseph W., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

- Kemp, Harry M., Fulton
 Kemp, James, Fulton
 Kendig, John Howard, St. Louis LIFE
 Kendrick, Mrs. A. K., Moberly
 Kennedy, Howard C., St. Louis County
 Kennedy, James O., Birmingham, Ala.
 Kennedy, Mrs. Maurice F., Kansas City LIFE
 Keown, Richard, New Bloomfield
 Kerr, Ross S., Portland, Ore.
 Kilburn, Henry, Columbia
 Kincaid, Arthur R., Liberty
 Kinder, Clem C., Cape Girardeau
 King, Charles A., Jr., Liberty
 Kirby, Mrs. William W., Kansas City
 Kircher, Theo E., Belleville, Ill.
 Klingler, Mr. and Mrs. Mel H., Normandy
 Kopecky, Frank, Florissant
 Kratz, Frederick W., Kansas City
 Kurtz, Mrs. John, Columbia
 Kyle, James M., III, San Francisco, California
 Lambertus, Paul T., Quincy, Illinois
 Lampe, John W., Denver, Colorado
 Langsdale, Mrs. Geo., Charleston
 Larsen, Sidney, Columbia
 Lea, William, Lanagan
 Lee, William O'D., Moberly
 Leffler, Mrs. Virginia, Forsyth, Montana
 Lehman, Mrs. Emile J., Morgan City, Louisiana
 Lehmberg, John L., St. Louis
 Lehmer, L. V., Oregon
 Lemke, ElRoy, Smithton
 Lemon, Richard K., Bonne Terre
 Levy, Charles, Butler
 Lewis, Oral, Kansas City
 Leyerle, Robert, Cape Girardeau
 Light, David, St. Louis
 Linderer, Lawrence, New York, N. Y. LIFE
 Lockwood, Mrs. Will J., Springfield
 Long, Mrs. Alfred, Potosi LIFE
 Long, G. C., Cadet
 Long, Mr. and Mrs. J. Winchell, Garden City
 Long, John R., Sullivan
 Long, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. B., Rich Hill
 Lynn, Mrs. J. E., Kansas City
 Lyon, Mrs. Renee, Kansas City
 McArtor, Mrs. James T., Kansas City
 McCaffree, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel, Prairie Village, Kansas
 McCalister, C. W., Kansas City
 McCartney, J. C., Liberty
 McClure, Crump, Marshfield
 McClure, Mrs. Georgia Mary, Kansas City
 McComb, Mary Joan, Kennett
 McCormick, John, Banning, California
 McCormick, John T., Sumner LIFE
 McCulloch, Mrs. S. E., Parma
 McDaniel, Mr. and Mrs. J. C., Farmington
 McElfresh, Mrs. Beth, Sheridan, Wyo.
 McElroy, Ruth, Kansas City
 McGrew, T. G., Dayton, Ohio
 McGuire, Everette, Imperial
 McKee, Mrs. Yvonne L., Columbia
 Mackensie, Mrs. Wm., Detroit, Mich.
 McLachlan, David A., Salisbury
 Maclay, Eleanor, Mercedes, Tex.
 McManus, Mrs. James J., Kansas City
 Matteson, E. S., Columbia
 Maupin, Mrs. Libbie G., St. Joseph
 Mautino, Charles, Clinton
 Maxson, Reed, Warrensburg
 May, George W., Peoria, Illinois
 Mayfield, Walter W., Beaumont, Tex.
 Mense, E. M., Joplin
 Middleton, Robert, Nevada
 Miles, Mrs. Lena, Mobile, Ala.
 Miller, Mrs. Richard, Independence
 Milster, Clyde, St. Louis
 Mitchell, Andrew D., Kansas City LIFE
 Moeller, Dora, Bay
 Mohny, Ben L., Moberly
 Mohr, Alan W., Arbela
 Moon, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Richard, Columbia
 Moore, K. G., Conroe, Texas
 Moore, Henry C., St. Petersburg, Fla.
 Moore, Kermit, Kansas City
 Moore, R. Dean, Kansas City
 Moorefield, Thomas E., Kansas City

- Moreau, Agnes, Ste. Genevieve
 Moreland, B. F., Smithville
 Morgan, Mrs. Marion, Kansas City
 Morris, H. J., Jr., New Cambria
 Morris, Kirtley J., Smithton
 Muir, G. W., Industrial City
 Mullaly, Mrs. Thomas M., Kansas City
 Munn, Wm. Bragg, Tarkio
 Munshaw, Joseph J., Guilford
 Murphy, James E., Flat River
 Murphy, James L., Webster Groves
 Nacy, Mrs. Richard R., Jefferson City
 Neal, Kenneth C., Kansas City
 Nichols, Purl, Columbia
 Nordlie, Mr. and Mrs. Charles, Ardsley, New York
 Norman, C. C., Nevada
 Norman, Mrs. E. C., Holden
 Northcutt, Douglas Bryce, Kansas City
 North Louisiana Historical Association, Shreveport, Louisiana
 Norris, Dillard, Kansas City
 Norris, Lloyd R., North Kansas City
 O'Connell, Mrs. John C., St. Louis
 O'Neal, F. Hodge, Durham, North Car.
 Oppenheimer, Reuben, Baltimore, Md.
 Osborn, Jessie May, Richmond Heights
 Osborn, Martha Lee, Richmond Heights
 Oswald, Mr. and Mrs. Henry, Boonville
 Owen, Mrs. George W., Jackson, Miss.
 Owens, Mrs. Thomas, Santa Cruz, Calif.
 Pahlow, Mrs. Lester, Lamar
 Parker, Mrs. Ruby, Lewiston, Maine
 Parks, James Lewis, Kansas City
 Parnell, B. A., Jr., Branson
 Pence, Anna Grace, Norton, Mass.
 Perrine, H. L., Kansas City
 Peszko, Mrs. Stanley, Jefferson City
 Peters, Fred C., Miami Beach, Fla.
 Peters, G. M., Liberty
 Pew, Mrs. John B., Kansas City
 Pfahl, Frank, Jefferson City
 Phillips, Aubrey L., Clinton
 Phillips, John W., North Kansas City
 Pitts, Presley W., Liberty
 Pointer, Nelson, Lexington
 Powell, Mrs. R. F., Kirkwood LIFE
 Pringle, John, Brookfield
 Proctor, Wayman, Fulton
 Proffer, Mrs. E. F., St. Louis
 Purdy, Mrs. Alfred L., Excello
 Rabenbarg, Mr. and Mrs. Wm., Maplewood
 Randall, James J., Monett
 Rasmussen, Mrs. A. H., Portland, Ore. LIFE
 Ray, Mrs. Russell D., Mt. Vernon, Illinois
 Redeker, Mrs. M. M., University City
 Reinhard, Richard M., Aurora, Ill.
 Renner, Mrs. Herman, Columbia
 Rice, Jim D., Kansas City
 Richardson, Victor, Liberty
 Riggs, John L., Liberty
 Rightmire, Bertha, St. Joseph
 Roam, Mrs. Margaret, Ellsinore
 Roark, L. Lloyd, Mission, Kansas
 Roberts, Chas. D., Wyaconda
 Roberts, Dr. and Mrs. Stanley E., Fullerton, California
 Robertson, Mrs. W. M., Joplin
 Robinson, Chilton, Maryville
 Robinson, Mrs. Hardin, Kansas City
 Robinson, Mrs. Oscar W., Paris, Tex.
 Rogers, Jerry, New Franklin
 Romaker, Mrs. Lydia, Raton, N. Mex.
 Ross, James E., Kansas City
 Ross, Mr. and Mrs. Joe, Willard
 Rottman, Mr. and Mrs. F. A., Normandy
 Rountree, Mr. and Mrs. E. F., Kansas City
 Rowe, Otis, St. Joseph
 Rowe, Ralph W., Kansas City
 Ryan, Daniel, Payson, Illinois
 Ryley, Francis J., Phoenix, Ariz.
 Saeggeser, Mr. and Mrs. Homer, Litchfield, Illinois
 Sailor, Charles F., DeKalb
 Sandboth, Mrs. Joseph, San Antonio, Texas
 Sandy, Mr. and Mrs. C. E., Meridian, Idaho

Sandy, Mr. and Mrs. D. W., Kidder
 Sauers, Mrs. Katherine, St. Louis
 Sayers, W. C., Camdenton
 Scharz, R. D., North Kansas City
 Schiller, James A., Houston, Texas
 Schlupf, Mr. and Mrs. A. C., Springfield, Illinois
 Schloeman, Howard L., Benton, Wis.
 Schmitz, Chas. A., New Haven, Conn.
 Schott, Mrs. Pauline, Kansas City
 Schowengerdt, R. W., Liberty
 Schrader, William, Glencoe
 Schrimser, Mrs. Charles I., Holden
 Schultz, Otto A., Moberly
 Schwartz, Mrs. Corrine, Pacific Palisades, California
 Schweppe, Alfred J., Seattle, Wash.
 Scott, John W., Kansas City
 Seabaugh, Mrs. W. A., Escondido, Calif.
 Semkin, Leonard, Smithton
 Seng, Charles, University City LIFE
 Severance, Arthur, Kansas City, Kansas
 Sexauer, Vincent, Ste. Genevieve
 Sharp, Victor M., Columbia
 Shelby, Ray, Burbank, Calif.
 Sheldon, Herbert, Caney, Kansas
 Shields, Fred, Jr., Kansas City
 Showers, Mrs. L. I., Mesa, Ariz.
 Small, James, Madison, Georgia
 Smiley, Mrs. Geo. K., Kansas City
 Smith, C. Willard, Liberty
 Smith, Cecil, Smithton
 Smith, K. P., Smithton
 Smith, Richard B., St. Louis
 Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Richard M., Temple, Texas
 Smith, Mr. and Mrs. T. Mahan, Jefferson City
 Smith, Robert Waddell, Kansas City
 Smith, Rollin C., Webster Groves
 Smith, Mrs. William H., Louisiana
 Sneed, Harold E., St. Petersburg, Florida
 Soebbing, Ralph K., St. Louis
 Sosland, Mrs. Sanders, Shawnee Mission, Kansas
 Spencer, Mrs. Anna, Slater

Stafford, Ernest N., Springfield
 Stanley, Henry, Liberty
 Stauffer, Mrs. Grant, Kansas City
 Stearns, N. E., Glencoe, Illinois
 Stebbins, T. L., Quincy, Ill.
 Stegeman, Albert, North Kansas City
 Stephan, John F., North Kansas City
 Stevens, Clyde, Sumner
 Stevens, Mrs. Frances, St. Louis
 Stevenson, Chas. John, Schenectady, New York
 Stewart, Jack R., Warrensburg
 Stocker, Mrs. Marguerite, Kansas City
 Stockwell, Mrs. B. D., San Bernardino, California
 Stover, Mrs. Richard, Miami, Fla.
 Stryker, Philip Fitzhugh, Boston, Mass.
 Sturdevant, Mrs. W. C., Springfield
 Sumner High School, St. Louis
 Surkamp, Mr. and Mrs. Harry S., Normandy
 Sutherland, A. E., Jr., Cambridge, Massachusetts
 Sutherland, George, Marshall
 Sweitzer, Mrs. Charles, Mexico
 Taber, Mrs. Freda, Columbia
 Tartakowsky, Judy, Flushing, N. Y.
 Thomas, Mr. and Mrs. Earl, Rocheport
 Thomas, Mrs. Helen J., Kansas City
 Thompson, H. Norman, Richmond Heights LIFE
 Thomson, Sue, St. Louis
 Thornton, Mrs. Adolpha, Clinton
 Toalson, M. E., Parkville
 Trachsel, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, St. Joseph
 Traw, Alta Bell, Richland
 Treat, Mrs. Parker C., Sr., Hannibal
 Trefz, John C., Carrollton
 Trimble, Frank, Kansas City
 Trojahn, Sharon L., St. Louis
 Troxell, A. R., Columbia
 Turnage, William E., Liberty
 Turner, L. G., Liberty
 Uren, Mrs. Andrew W., Columbia
 Usry, John M., Rolla
 Van Burkleo, Noble, Houston, Texas
 Vaughn, W. J., Liberty

- Viers, Mrs. Wayne, Kirkwood
 Von Phul, Grace R., St. Louis
 Wagner, Mrs. Walter, McCredie
 Waite, Graham, Cape Girardeau
 Walker, G. Edward, Nevada
 Warford, William S., Quincy, Ill.
 Warnock, William K., Clinton
 Watkins, Earl, Smithton
 Watson, Richard E., North Kansas City
 Wayland, Winifred, Forsyth
 Weber, Robert R., Kansas City
 Webster, Wilbur R., El Paso, Tex.
 Weiss, L. I., Monett
 Wenzel, Charles, Excelsior Springs
 Wessel, Richard, Webster Groves
 Wessel, Mrs. Richard H., Clayton
 West, Mrs. W. K., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
 Wheeler, Dwight, Montgomery City
 Wheeler, Mrs. O. V., Sr., Columbia LIFE
 Whitmer, Mrs. Elmer S., Richmond
 Whitney, Geo. H., Upland, California LIFE
 Wilborn, John, Montrose
 William Christman High School, Division II, Independence
 Williams, Mrs. Kathleen, Olathe, Kansas
 Williams, Lester, Clinton
 Williams, Ralph A., Kansas City
 Williams, Mrs. Robert, Stafford, Kansas
 Williams, Victor E., Ethel LIFE
 Willoughby, James W., Liberty
 Wills, J. W., Lewistown
 Willson, Helen B., Kansas City
 Wilson, Fred L., Liberty
 Wilson, Richard, Nevada
 Wilson, Robert W., St. Louis
 Wiltshire, Jim, Liberty
 Winn, Charles E., Kansas City
 Wolfe, Joe E., Butler
 Wolff, Mrs. Louis, Wayne, N. J.
 Wolter, Mr. and Mrs. Fred, Kirkwood
 Woodward, Harold, Bethany
 Worley, Mrs. Edna, Wichita, Kansas
 Wright, Wayne B., St. Louis LIFE
 Wrightman, Fred Noel, Tulsa, Oklahoma LIFE
 Yancey, Chas. F., Kansas City
 Yancey, W. B., Liberty
 York, Kenneth, Kansas City
 Young, Mrs. D. O., Versailles
 Young, Gary Edward, Carrollton

MODERN ADDRESSING SYSTEM ADOPTED FOR SOCIETY MAILINGS

For nearly 55 years the *Review* has been mailed to members in envelopes addressed at the Society's quarters. With the mailing list now above 13,000, this operation has become inaccurate, difficult, and time-consuming.

This issue of the *Review* is the first to go out in envelopes handled under the Speedomatic addressing system, an operation which, because of modern machines, is less expensive to the Society than the old system and also provides for flexible mailings. An added convenience is the inclusion of the membership expiration date above the name of the addressee.

The April envelope labels may have conversion errors which we trust will be corrected automatically within the next few months. If your label is in error, please give us another mailing, and then report if the error remains uncorrected.

STATE PURCHASES FIRST CAPITOL

Through the special efforts of Governor James T. Blair, Missouri's first State Capitol, located on South Main Street in St. Charles, has been purchased by the State of Missouri. The State

Park Board will supervise its restoration and preservation and the development of the area as a State shrine.



Ryne Stiegemeier Photo

State Capitol in St. Charles

The total frontage of the purchase, which includes three buildings, in 81 feet five inches, while the depth varies from 121 to 247 feet. The \$39,000 required for the transaction, completed on January 4, came from a special fund administered by Governor James T. Blair, Jr.

On November 25, 1820, the General Assembly, meeting in St. Louis, passed legislation designating St. Charles as the seat of government until October 1, 1826. In turn, certain St. Charles citizens pledged to furnish free a group of rooms suitable for both branches of the General Assembly and the various committees.

On December 31, 1821, Governor Alexander McNair approved the act which selected the site of Jefferson City as the location for the permanent seat of government, and the new capital was occupied on November 20, 1826.

The St. Charles County Historical Society is among the groups which have labored during the past two years to achieve State ownership and restoration of this historic St. Charles landmark.

MRS. MARY MEDLEY HUNTER

Mrs. Mary Medley Hunter, wife of Stephen B. Hunter, Southeast Missouri landowner and farm operator who served as a Trustee of the Society from 1925 to 1959 and became an Honorary Member in 1957, died on January 30 at Mountain View Rest Home near Festus, where she and Mr. Hunter have resided for the last two years. Mr. and Mrs. Hunter formerly lived at Sikeston, St. Louis, and Cape Girardeau.

In 1954 Mr. and Mrs. Hunter gave the Society \$1,000 as an expression of their interest and in appreciation for its services. They were co-authors of *The Joseph Hunter and Related Families*, published in 1959.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Hunter have for years been among the most active and loyal supporters of The State Historical Society.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Mr. and Mrs. Paul M. Vandivort of Cape Girardeau have given the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society a 24-acre tract of land which includes the old Burfordville Mill. The society accepted the offer at a meeting on January 28 and Mrs. A. W. Thilenius, president, appointed Earl Oldham and Shelby Brown as cochairmen of a project aimed at the mill's restoration. Benjamin E. Dietrich reported that the rock retaining wall in the Old Lorimier Cemetery has been completed, Mrs. Orville Holcomb and Miss Ione Hirsch, cochairmen, reported on the progress of the museum now under construction in the Common Pleas Court House, and R. B. Oliver read an account from an old record book regarding the employment of a teacher for the Pleasant Hill Presbyterian Academy, located near Pocahontas.

The Carroll County Historical Society met on February 23 in its museum, located in the old library building of the Carrollton City Hall, for a discussion of Dan Heins and his activities in the community. The principal paper, presented by Edith Furry, is printed in the *Carrollton Daily Democrat*, February 24. Activities of the society include the establishment of a museum and the compilation of a county history.

Officers for 1961 include Miss Pearl Edwin Lowrance, president; Daniel A. Brand and Lucille Magee, vice presidents; Gary Edward Young, secretary; Edith Furry, assistant secretary; Mrs. Roy Baker, treasurer; and Mrs. J. J. McKinny, organist.

The Carter County Historical Society met in the court house at Van Buren on January 23 to discuss the possibility of keeping the Centennial Cabin open during the summer months.

The society met on February 7 to discuss plans for developing the centennial log cabin and for marking the cabin and certain old roads in the county.

David Payne, a well known New York artist, presented his original painting of the stairway and entrance hall in the Executive Mansion, to the Cole County Historical Society at its annual meeting on November 30. The artist, a native of Fulton, was unable to be present, and the painting was presented by Mrs. Henry Ells, Sr., to Mrs. John Williams, who accepted the gift for the society.

The Dade County Historical Society met at the Methodist Church in Lockwood on October 18. The program consisted of a discussion of old photographs brought by members of the society.

On November 15 the society met in the community building in Greenfield to hear a paper by Miss Tim Brewer on "The History of the South Greenfield Methodist Church."

The society met in the community building at Greenfield on December 29 and heard Alvin Jones discuss "Early County Division of Missouri Territory." Rollo Holman presented an early family history, and the members participated in round table discussions of the following subjects: "Early Dade County Roads and Railroads," "Yesterday's Distilleries and Government Whisky," "The Last Five and Ten Acre Plots in Dade County," and "The First Settlers One Big Family."

The Dunklin County Historical Society advises that copies of *Dunklin County Historical Society*, a collection of more than 60 essays compiled and published by the society in 1951, are still available from the publisher, the Thrower Printing Company, of Kennett.

The Florissant Valley Historical Society held a bouillon party on February 12 at the Florissant Valley Country Club. Entertainment included a program of slides of "Historic Hermann" by Dr. Rivers Schmidt and music.

The Gentry County Historical Society met at the Presbyterian Church in King City on January 8 and heard Mrs. Eliza Henderson Gibbany give an account of the old Mount Tabor Methodist Episcopal South Church. Donna Clay, a King City high school student, read her prize-winning essay on the history of the Jefferson Highway and Dr. Cassie Burk, program chairman, spoke on Benjamin Wheeler, a pioneer minister in the Berlin area.

The Grand River Historical Society and Museum has elected the following officers for 1961: George W. Somerville, president; Harry Cole and Miss Mabel Cranmer, vice presidents; and Leo Hopper, secretary-treasurer.

A panel composed of Dr. C. Benton Manley, moderator, Dallas D. Anthony, Harold Haas, Barrett Jones, and Mrs. Lucile Morris Upton discussed Springfield and its early growth as the Greene County Historical Society met in the Springfield Art Museum on December 15. Dr. H. Lee Hoover presided over the business meeting, and LeRoy Fox reported on the used book sale staged by the society for the benefit of its archives and historical marker program.

The society, meeting in the Springfield Art Museum on January 26, heard Dr. L. E. Meador, retired professor of economics and political science at Drury College, discuss "Civil War in Southwest Missouri" and Henry Warren, Jr., a member of the Missouri Civil War Centennial Commission, report on plans for the centennial observance in Missouri.

The Greene County Historical Society met in the Springfield Art Museum on February 23 to hear Dr. B. B. Lightfoot, associate professor of history at Southwest Missouri State College, discuss historical research and writing.

The Hickory County Historical Society, meeting in the office of the County Clerk at Hermitage on December 8, heard a paper written by Mrs. Marjorie Darby on "The History of the Crossroads or Nemo (Bethel) Baptist Church."

Officers elected at the annual meeting of the Jackson County Historical Society, held in the Truman Library at Independence on January 15, include Mrs. J. Roger DeWitt, president; David Mackie, Mrs. Fred Hink, and Dr. Philip C. Brooks, vice presidents; Mrs. H. H. Haukenberry, secretary; Charles R. Layland, treasurer; and Mrs. Robert E. Green, historian.

The Johnson County Historical Society met at the Christian Church in Warrensburg on January 15 and heard a program on "Attitudes Toward the Civil War," with Dr. Perry A. McCandless, Mrs. John Paul Morris, and Mildred Brown participating. New officers elected include Chester S. Cassingham, president; Dr. Emmett Ellis, Mrs. Claude Grainger, and Phillip C. Houx, vice

presidents; Mildred Brown, secretary; Ralph Martz, treasurer; and Mrs. John Paul Morris, historian. Lewis Lay, Everett Scott, Frank Hull, Mrs. A. Lee Smiser, Mrs. J. L. Snyder, and Nellie Wells were elected to the board of directors.

The Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, meeting in Swope Chapel at Westminster College in Fulton on January 16, heard Leonard Haslag, historian for the State Park Board, discuss the Board's work in restoring historical buildings and sites in the State.

The society met at Fulton in the auditorium of the Missouri School for the Deaf on February 20 and heard Mrs. Fred M. Montgomery discuss changes which have taken place in Callaway County since the arrival of the white man.

The New Madrid County Historical Society, with the cooperation of service organizations in New Madrid County, proposes to re-enact a part or all of the Civil War engagements which occurred within the county during the spring of 1862. Present plans call for the re-enactments to begin in March and to continue through four consecutive Sundays.

The Pike County Historical Society met in the Methodist Church at Bowling Green on January 31 to eulogize the late Champ Clark, one of Pike County's greatest men. Marsh Clark, a member of the editorial staff of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and a grandson of Champ Clark, gave the principal address.

The St. Charles County Historical Society met in the First Methodist Church, St. Charles, on October 20 and heard Joseph Jaeger, Jr., Director of Missouri State Parks, discuss the park system. Kirk Keller spoke briefly on Ponds Fort.

The society held a dinner meeting in Borromeo Church Hall, St. Charles, on January 26 and heard Dr. Richard S. Brownlee discuss "General Ulysses S. Grant in Eastern Missouri." Leonard Haslag, historian for the Missouri State Park Board, outlined the preliminary investigations which must be conducted before restoration begins on the old State Capitol, which the State purchased on January 4.

The Civil War Round Table of St. Louis, meeting in the Gatesworth Hotel on November 21, heard Alexander C. Niven discuss

"Foreigners in the Confederacy." Dr. Fred A. Shannon, professor of history at the University of Illinois, was unable to appear for his scheduled talk on "State's Rights and the Union Army."

The Round Table met in the Gatesworth Hotel on January 16 and heard Dr. T. Harry Williams, Boyd Professor of American History at Louisiana State University, speak on "Generalship of North and South."

The Civil War Round Table of the Ozarks met at Galli's Half-A-Hill Dinner Club near Springfield on February 8 and heard Charles Sheppard speak on "The Battle of Springfield."

The Round Table sponsors a five-minute program on the Civil War in the Ozarks over KTTS, Springfield, every Wednesday evening at 8:30.

The Missouri Society of the Inland Empire, holding its annual meeting on February 4 in Spokane, Washington, elected the following officers: R. P. "Jack" Carolus, president; Mrs. E. H. Hunt and Mrs. Arnold Floyd, vice presidents; A. A. Beyersdorf, secretary; and E. H. Hunt, treasurer.

The Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis presented Dr. Walter Muir Whitehill, director and librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, in a lecture on the role of the independent historical society in the United States on February 24 at the Clayton High School Auditorium.

ANNIVERSARIES

The Wm. R. Nelson Gallery of Art & Atkins Museum of Fine Arts at Kansas City and the City Art Museum of St. Louis will observe the sesquicentennial of the birth of George Caleb Bingham, Missouri portrait and genre painter, with special lectures and exhibits of his work. The Kansas City showing is scheduled for March 16-April 30 and that at St. Louis for May 15-June 30. The exhibit will include the following properties of The State Historical Society: "Order No. 11," "Vinnie Ream," "Watching the Cargo," and a group of Bingham pencil sketches.

George Caleb Bingham was born in Virginia on March 20, 1811, and came to Franklin, Missouri, in 1819. Between 1833 and his death in 1879 he created more than 100 genre, historical, land-

scape, and picture paintings and 1,000 portraits. Dr. Richard S. Brownlee will lecture on Bingham at the Nelson Gallery on April 9.

An important event in Missouri's observance of the Civil War Centennial will occur on May 18 when 1,000 combatants, including Wentworth Military Academy cadets, Army and National Guard units, and other R. O. T. C. personnel, will refight the Battle of Lexington. The engagement, which will be fought under the auspices of the Missouri Civil War Centennial Commission, the State Park Board, Wentworth Military Academy, and the Lexington Chamber of Commerce, will take place on the original battlefield, now a Missouri State park. The original battle occurred on September 18, 19, and 20, 1861, but the reenactment will take place in May to allow cadets ample time for orientation, briefing, and preliminary exercises.

Rolla opened its centennial observance on February 3 with a joint meeting of the city council and Rolla civic clubs. Dr. Richard S. Brownlee made the principal address, stressing the importance of Rolla as a Civil War railroad. His address appears in the *Rolla Daily News*, February 6.

To further commemorate the anniversary the *Daily News* of February 3 included two historical articles by Dr. Clair V. Mann, "The Bishops, Their Days in Rolla," and a summary of historic facts about the city, and a discussion of journalism in Rolla, "This Newspaper and Its Progenitors Also 100 Years Old."

Edward V. Sowers is chairman of the Rolla Centennial Committee.

Hermann will celebrate its 125th anniversary at the annual Maifest on May 20-21. Entertainment will include a tour of old homes and wine cellars, a parade, and a historical pageant, "Hermann, 'A City:—And We Have Built It, These & I'."

The centennial of the arrival of the first railroad train in Rolla on December 22, 1860, was observed at the Rolla Lions Club luncheon on December 22, when Frisco officials joined with the Lions to hear Dr. C. V. Mann, Phelps County historian, recount this significant incident in Rolla's history. Three illustrated articles by Dr. Mann in the *Rolla Daily News*, December 23, 27, and 28, discuss "The Coming of the Frisco."

Sedalia observed its 100th anniversary of railroad service with brief ceremonies on the arrival of the Missouri Pacific Eagle on January 17.

Waynesville is planning a Civil War Centennial celebration for June 5-10 which will include a reenactment of the capture of the town by Union forces.

The St. Alexander Catholic Church of Belle observed its fiftieth anniversary with a golden anniversary jubilee on June 19. The history of the church is summarized in an illustrated article in the *Belle Banner*, June 16.

St. John's United Church of Christ at Chamois observed its seventy-fifth anniversary with special services on November 6. A brief history of the church appears in the Linn *Unterrified Democrat*, November 10.

The Woodside Memorial Methodist Church of Thayer observed its seventy-fifth anniversary with special services on December 11. The Reverend A. C. Fulbright, pastor of the church, has given the Society a copy of the ten-page historical booklet which was printed to commemorate the observance.

On January 29, 1861, President James Buchanan signed the bill which admitted Kansas as the thirty-fourth state in the Union, and Kansas is celebrating the centennial of that event this year.

The *Kansas City Star* on January 29 devoted a 20-page section to articles and illustrations which trace the history and development of the area from the day of the buffalo and Indian to the present.

HONORS AND TRIBUTES

Frank P. Briggs, Macon editor, farmer, and businessman, has been named Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish and Wildlife. Mr. Briggs has been a member of the Missouri State Conservation Commission the past 14 years and has been a member of the executive committee of the International Association of Conservation, Fish, and Wildlife Directors. A native of Howard County, Mr. Briggs owned and edited papers at Fayette, Trenton, and Moberly before he acquired the *Macon Chronicle-Herald* in 1924.

He also served in the State Senate from 1933 to 1945 and in the United States Senate during 1945 and 1946. Mr. Briggs has been a Trustee of The State Historical Society since 1941.

United States Representative Thomas B. Curtis received the 1960 Man-of-the-Year Award on December 27 in recognition of his outstanding service to his community, state, and country as a lawyer, civic leader, and Congressman. The award, conferred annually by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, was presented in ceremonies in the office of the publisher, Richard H. Amberg. Congressman Curtis, who lives in Webster Groves, was chosen for the award by the five previous recipients of the honor.

Erwin T. Koch, Missouri State Director for Senior Citizens of America, recently presented the Senior Citizen Award of Merit to Governor John M. Dalton, together with a bound book containing messages from other governors. The Senior Citizens of America is the largest organization of its kind in the world.

Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis was appointed by Pope John to the Sacred College of Cardinals on December 10. Cardinal Ritter received his biglietto in Rome on January 16 and the red hat of a Cardinal on January 19. Cardinal Ritter was installed as Archbishop of St. Louis on October 8, 1946. The *St. Louis Review*, February 3, paid special tribute to Cardinal Ritter in a special illustrated section devoted to his career.

B. Cordell Stevens of Clayton received a 50-year Masonic membership button on December 15 from Robert W. McElhinney, representing the Clayton Grand Lodge, A. F. & A. M. His father, Hiram Louis Stevens, had received a 50-year button from Bonhomme Lodge of Ballwin in 1921.

Rex M. Whitton, chief engineer for the Missouri State Highway Department since 1951, became Federal Highway Administrator on January 20 and now has charge of the Federal Bureau of Roads and the 41,000-mile interstate highway construction program. Mr. Whitton, a native of Jackson County, had been associated with the State Highway Department since 1920, and in 1960 he received two national awards in recognition of his leadership in public works programs.

NOTES

Roscoe Collier of Theodosia, by the arrangement of Dan Sauls of Jefferson City, has given the Society the diary kept by Hiram Baker from July 1 to November 12, 1865. During this time Baker, a soldier in Battery K of the Second Missouri Light Artillery, participated in the Powder River Campaign, serving under Colonel Nelson Cole. This command consisted of eight companies of the Second Missouri Light Artillery, eight companies of the Twelfth Missouri Cavalry, and a train of 140 six-mule wagons, a total force of over 1,500 men.

The Society has acquired two interesting items dealing with the Overland Mail: House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3d Session, *Report Number 37* (February 27, 1869), regarding the inquiry of the Committee on Public Expenditures into the contract with Wells, Fargo & Company for carrying mail between the termini of the Pacific railroads, and Senate, 46th Congress, 2d Session, *Report No. 216* (February 9, 1880), relating to Ben Holladay's petition for compensation for spoliation by the Indians on his property and for damages to his property by military forces.

The Reverend Theodore H. Wolff of Wentzville has given the Society two mimeographed copies of the *Annual Catalogue of Paynesville Pritchett Institute For 1889-1890*. The booklet provides an interesting insight into the history and the philosophy of the school, which was founded in 1868 as Forgey Institute.

Brigadier General James A. Norell, Army Chief of Military History, spoke on "The Army and the Frontiers" at the dedication on September 25 of the newly restored buildings at Jefferson Barracks Historical Park in St. Louis. The Laborers' House, built in 1851 to house civilian workmen, is now furnished with items from the 1850-1865 period; the Stable, also erected in 1851, houses horse gear, saddles, harnesses, and grooming equipment; and the Powder Magazine, constructed in 1854, contains a collection of photostatic murals regarding the history of the installation.

Jefferson Barracks, which was a United States Military Reservation from 1826 to 1946, is now maintained as a public park by St. Louis County, which plans to restore the entire area to its appearance of a century ago.

Miss Fay K. Moore of Palmyra has given the Society the diary kept by her uncle, William Hoskin, who recorded an interesting account of his career in the Confederate forces from the evacuation of Springfield on February 12, 1862, until he was paroled at Shreveport in June, 1865, and of the first months after his return to civilian life.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Della Bartelsmeyer, librarian of the Marionville Branch Library, and Lee Collier the Society has acquired a microfilm copy of Mr. Collier's typescript, "A History of Marionville, Missouri," which he prepared as a part of Marionville's centennial observance in 1954.

Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Minner of Columbia have given the Society 42 volumes of *Tennessee Reports* in mint condition with an index prepared by Mrs. Minner.

The 146-year-old Daniel Bissell home, located in Bellefontaine Neighbors, is to be donated to St. Louis County for use as a museum and recreation center. The large colonial home and grounds covering nine and one-half acres will be turned over to the county over a period of five years as a gift of Mrs. Renwick Diamond of New York, a great-great-granddaughter of the home's original builder, General Daniel Bissell.

William L. Atwood and Alexander C. Niven of St. Louis have given the Society copies of *The Civil War Centennial Calendar, 1861: 1961*, and the *1962 Illustrated Civil War Centennial Appointment Calendar*. The calendars, compiled and edited by Mr. Niven, note battles and engagements on the dates on which they occurred and provide illustrations, statistics, accounts, and quotations regarding the conditions of the period.

Recent additions to the Society's collection of engravings include "St. Charles on the Mississippi," "St. Louis [c. 1850]," and "St. Joseph [c. 1850]."

Mrs. Elba S. Baender of Butler has given the Society a list of the makers and the amounts on the notes in a package left with the Kansas City Bank of Commerce by J. B. Stuart of the firm of Stuart & Cooper for the promotion of the proposed Kansas City,

Nevada & Ft. Smith Railroad. Mrs. Baender believes that the donors were interested in bringing the railroad to Drexel, Cass County.

The post office at Florida was officially re-established on November 1, and present plans call for a special cancellation calling attention to the village as the birthplace of Mark Twain.

George S. Wattles of Mountain View has given the Society a copy of *A Modest History of Mountain View, Missouri, 1960*, a 36-page, illustrated booklet issued as a part of the centennial observance and compiled by a historical committee headed by Ruth Arthur.

The Society has acquired a sketch from *Harper's Weekly*, October 19, 1861, drawn by Alexander Simplot, which portrays the "Embarkation of the Ninth Missouri Regiment, Colonel Kelton, at St. Louis, for Lexington."

Albert H. Oechsle of Jefferson City has given the Society a collection of eleven sterling silver spoons which portray important events in Missouri history in colored scenes on the bowl and handle.

Third Annual Columbus Day Parade, a publication sponsored jointly by the High Twelve Club of the Fenton Masonic Lodge and St. Paul's Council 2440 of the Fenton Knights of Columbus, includes a 30-page history of Fenton, compiled and edited by Dr. John L. Caskanett, Sr.

Mrs. Mabel Manes Mottaz of Waynesville has given the Society reminiscent histories of two Pulaski County churches, the Friendship Baptist Church, by May Gan Cox, and the Swedeborg Church, by J. S. Zumwalt.

The Society has made photostats of six Civil War letters loaned by Audsley Ballew of Hale which were written in 1863, 1864, and 1865 and concern his grandfather, F. F. Audsley. Mr. Audsley, born in England in 1835, came to Saline County in 1859. After serving for a time in the enrolled militia, he went to Carroll County, enlisted in Company F of the 44th Missouri Infantry, and later served as an officer in Company A.

Mrs. Fred Steinkuhle of St. Louis has given the Society a copy of the mimeographed publication, "The History of the Eighth District Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs, 1902-1960," compiled by Hilda E. Hiemenz. Mrs. Steinkuhle is immediate past president of the organization.

When Coronet Rebekah Lodge No. 149 of Odessa met on December 17, D. P. Goodwin, who became a member in 1895, discussed the early history of the organization.

Mrs. Dora L. Hutchison of Stockton, California, has given the Society two books, eleven pamphlets, and some miscellaneous items related to the history of Missouri.

The Society has acquired through the services of Secretary of State Robert W. Crawford a body of Missouri Confederate Legislative Archives of 1861.

Fred H. Doenges of St. Charles has given the Society a copy of *Lindenwood College . . . And Its Story*, a recent publication which includes a history of the college and a list of significant events since its founding in 1827.

A milestone in the industrial history of the area occurred on February 4 when a diesel powered locomotive pulled the first train into the yard at the Pea Ridge iron mine. The train had come from Cadet, where the newly built spur of 26.7 miles, built especially for mine needs, begins. The rail service, which now provides equipment and materials for the mine, will handle the removal of iron ore pellets from Pea Ridge to the Mississippi. Actual production of the iron ore mine is not scheduled until early 1963.

Mrs. J. A. Beeson of Marion, Iowa, has given the Society an unusual item, *History of Missouri in Words of One Syllable*, written by Emily Steinestel MacNamara and published by Belford, Clarke & Company of Chicago in 1889.

The Society has purchased an unusual lithographed portrait of General Franz Sigel, drawn by Dominique C. Fabronius and lithographed and published by C. D. Andrews and Company of Boston.

Mrs. Elizabeth Miller of Rolla has given the Society two land patents, one issued to James Sherry of St. Louis County in 1862 and the other to Elizabeth T. Quinton of Madison County in 1859.

"Artist-Journalists of the Civil War" in *Time*, February 17, includes a sketch showing the death of General Nathaniel Lyon at Wilson's Creek as it was drawn by Henri Lovie, special artist for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, and a copy of the engraving as it appeared when published three weeks later.

A. Stacy Rhodes of St. Louis has given the Society some miscellaneous material relating to the Rhodes family and Missouri history.

The Society has acquired an engraving which portrays Sterling Price in uniform and is a product of George E. Perine, the noted portrait engraver of New York.

Mrs. Opal Soetaert of Martin City has given the Society an early handbill advertising the entertainments headlined by S. Watts, "The Noted Ventriloquist," and E. D. Greer, "The Celebrated Magician."

The Society has purchased from Mrs. Elizabeth Prather Ellsberry of Chillicothe the following mimeographed publications which she has compiled: "Will Records of Saline Co., Mo., 1821-1863"; "Marriage Records of Livingston Co., Mo."; "Deed Records of Livingston Co., Mo."; "Linn County, Missouri, Deed Records, 1837-44 . . ."; and "Monroe County, Missouri, Will Records, 1832-52."

The Bootheel Museum, located near Dexter and owned and maintained by Mr. and Mrs. James R. Harvey, houses about 8,000 specimens of American Indian relics and artifacts. The museum is open to the public without charge.

The Greer Spring and mill, located in Oregon County, was publicized in articles by Lucile Masnor in the *Alton South Missourian-Democrat*, September 22, and the *Poplar Bluff Daily American Republic*, August 20. The former also included a brief biographical sketch of Samuel W. Greer.

The strife of a century ago is discussed in "The Civil War in the Ozarks," an illustrated series by Marvin VanGilder, which appears in the *Carthage Evening Press* in seven installments beginning January 25.

"Pre-Civil War House to Fall," in the *Independence Examiner*, January 23, gives a brief history of the house at 126 South Pleasant in Kansas City. Richard Fristoe and John T. Smith were early owners of the property.

Dr. Lawrence E. Giffen describes the State capital of a century ago in "Jefferson City on Eve of Civil War," in the *Jefferson City Sunday News and Tribune*, February 5.

"Decade of Progress for Still Hospital," in the *News and Tribune*, February 5, provides a history of the Charles E. Still Osteopathic Hospital from the first discussion in 1943.

"Southwest Missouri and Presidential Elections," a series of six articles by Jerry Friedheim in the *Joplin Globe* beginning September 25, discussed Presidential election history, trends, and statistics in Southwest Missouri since 1836.

"Most Seceded County—Callaway, Missouri," in the *Kansas City Mid-American Republican*, January, 1961, briefly describes Callaway County political conditions in the Civil War period.

"The Civil War Comes to Missouri," a series of seven articles by Robert Pearman which treat the Civil War in western Missouri, eastern Kansas, and northwestern Arkansas, begins in the *Kansas City Star*, February 19.

"Missouri Girl's Unique Road to Fame," a feature by Susan C. Chiles in the *Kansas City Times*, February 24, discusses the career of Vinnie Ream, who achieved national renown as a sculptress.

An interesting view of a busy river port is given in "Copy of Waverly's First Newspaper in 1859 Reflects Uneasiness of Times," a feature story by Mrs. Lutie Gordon Jordan in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News*, January 3.

Mrs. Edna McElhiney Olson discusses the Civil War on the national, state, and local scene in "Civil War Activities in County," in the *St. Charles Journal*, January 19.

An interesting phase of the Civil War in Missouri is described by Gilbert Knipmeyer, archivist in the office of the Adjutant General of Missouri, in "Civil War Action at Leasburg," in the *St. Clair Chronicle*, February 9, and the *Sullivan Tri-County News*, February 9.

"St. Louis' Shoe Giant Reviews Half-Century of Progress," an illustrated feature by Ted Schafers in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, February 12, provides many interesting facts about the International Shoe Company.

Mrs. Carrie Bruggeman Stark of Kirkwood reminisces about Scott Joplin, the firm of John Stark & Son, and early ragtime in "Missouri Was the Birthplace of Ragtime," an illustrated feature by Dorothy Brockhoff in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 18.

"History of the Catholic Church in St. Louis," an illustrated feature by Clarence E. Olson in the "Pictures" section of the *Post-Dispatch*, January 22, provides a brief history of the church in the area from the time of its early exploration.

"Terrible Tragedy at St. Louis," a feature by Irving Dilliard in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 12, describes in picture and story the conditions which existed in Missouri and Illinois during the Civil War.

The story of an interesting Sedalia firm is told briefly in "Perry Music Company, Oldest US Music Publishers," in the *Sedalia Democrat*, January 8. The business, organized in St. Joseph in 1857 by Austin W. Perry, has operated in Sedalia since 1870.

"The Civil War in the Ozarks," a feature story by Lucile Morris Upton in the *Springfield News and Leader*, January 8, includes a full page of illustrations and a sketch by Bob Palmer which shows location and date of the major engagements in the area.

"Politically-Minded Capital of Ozarks Leaned to Union as Conflict Neared," an illustrated feature by Lucile Morris Upton in the *News and Leader*, February 5, describes conditions in Springfield on the eve of the Civil War.

"Daniel Boone and His Family," by Mrs. Lila Carter Hackman of Springfield, appears in serial form in the *Warrenton Banner* beginning August 4.

"Hearst Birthplaces in County to Be Marked," a feature story by Ralph Gregory in the *Washington Citizen*, December 5, discusses the careers of two noted Franklin County natives, George Hearst and his wife, Phoebe Apperson Hearst.

Ralph Gregory discusses the history of three interesting Washington buildings in recent issues of the *Washington Missourian*: "The Old Eitzen Building Is One of City's Most Distinguished Early Brick Structures," November 24; "Old 'Turnhalle' of Washington 'Turnvereins' Was Located at Third and Jefferson Streets," December 15; and "Old Schroeder Building on Jefferson Street Was Used to Quarter Union Soldiers," January 5.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Face of Missouri. Photographs and introduction by Elio Lee Battaglia. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1960. vii, 112 pp. Not indexed. \$7.50.) This collection of 103 photographs is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of the State or a portrayal of that which is typical of the State. It is, rather, a "small portion of what one personality has found memorable and meaningful in Missouri" (vi). The captions range from "Curryville. Amish family returning from the mill" to "St. Louis. Invited guests at the Veiled Prophet's Ball," and from "Near Ava. Trappist monks returning from field work" to "Jefferson City. Five Missouri Supreme Court Judges sit beneath portraits of three of their predecessors."

Elio Lee Battaglia was born in Messina in 1928, came to the United States in 1947 and, after military service in Japan and Korea, became an American citizen. He was an assistant in publications at the University of Missouri from 1958 to 1960 and is currently assistant illustrations editor with *National Geographic Magazine*.

Battles of the Civil War, 1861-1865: A Pictorial Presentation. (Little Rock: The Pioneer Press, 1960. 144 pp. Not indexed. \$18.00; deluxe, \$25.00.) During the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln sent Louis Kurz, a Chicago artist, to make pictorial representations of his observations at various camps and battlefields. In 1880 Kurz joined Alexander Allison to form the firm of Kurz and Allison, and this business published 36 battle scenes, many probably based on sketches made by Kurz during the war.

The Arkansas Civil War Centennial Commission has sponsored the reproduction of these prints in full color and with no correction in dates or spellings. Each illustration is accompanied by a short factual narrative by a historian who has done special research on the battle and a brief biographical sketch about the author. No attempt has been made to stylize the narrative; each is printed exactly as the author wrote it.

Included from the Ozark area are the Battle of Wilson's Creek, by Alan W. Farley, and the Battle of Pea Ridge, by Wayland M. Hackett.

Exploring With Fremont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss, Cartographer for John C. Fremont on His First, Second, and Fourth Expeditions to the Far West. By Charles Preuss. Translated and edited by Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. xxix, 162 pp. Indexed. \$3.95.) When John C. Fremont was commissioned by the Government to explore the country west of the Missouri, he was instructed to map his routes and the area through which he traveled. To assist in this work he hired Charles Preuss, a German immigrant and gifted cartographer.

Preuss kept careful diaries, written in German and addressed to his wife, and these notes, after remaining in German attics for a century, are published here for the first time. The diaries supplement Fremont's official *Report*, provide new testimonies concerning controversial matters, and offer many informal glimpses of three great expeditions which explored the Far West in 1842, 1843-1844, and 1848-1849.

Mark Twain and Huck Finn. By Walter Blair. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. xviii, 436 pp. Indexed. \$7.50.) This is the story of an author and the masterpiece which he created—why and how he wrote it, the factors which shaped it, and the world-wide literary fame which it achieved. The author gives serious consideration to the effect on this novel of Sam Clemens' boyhood in Hannibal and his years as a pilot on the Mississippi, but he believes that other elements seriously modified these factors. This volume provides a careful study of Clemens' life, his reading, his thinking, and his writing between 1874 and 1884, all of which were important influences in the creation of *Huck Finn*. The book

closes with a chapter on the publication of *Huck Finn* and its achievement of international popularity.

Freedom and Equality. Addresses of Harry S. Truman. Edited and with an introduction by David S. Horton. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1960. xxx, 85 pp. Not indexed. \$2.95.) This volume contains nine addresses and messages to Congress, dealing with freedom and equality, delivered by President Harry S. Truman between 1940 and 1954. Three selections deal with the Negro, five discuss the problem of retaining our freedoms while meeting problems posed by the internal threat of Communism, and the final selection, the veto message on the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, treats freedom and equality, Communism, and minority groups. The editor is professor and head of the department of history and political science at Westminster College in Fulton.

The People of Mushan. By Howard R. Long. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1960. vii, 146 pp. Not indexed. \$7.50.) This is a photographic record of life in the Formosan village of Mushan. The author goes beyond the daily, seasonal, and annual cycle, however, to illustrate and comment on minute details in the existence of these people who live much as their fathers did. The book is an interesting study of the inhabitants of the village, their character, agricultural methods, community organization, and social structure and customs.

The author, a native of Missouri, was a faculty member in the University of Missouri School of Journalism from 1940 to 1950 and manager of the Missouri Press Association from 1941 to 1949. He became acquainted with Mushan while teaching in National Chengchi University in Tapei, Taiwan, in 1957-1958.

Herbs, Hoecakes and Husbandry: The Daybook of a Planter of the Old South. Edited by Weymouth T. Jordan. (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1960. 137 pp. Indexed. \$3.00.) Martin Marshall (1782-1865), a native of South Carolina, moved in 1815 to Fort Claiborne, Alabama, where he became a blacksmith, weaver and, in time, a cotton planter. As a man with varied interests Marshall began in 1802 to compile a daybook—a body of information on subjects concerned with the problems of life on the frontier. The items came from members of the family, friends, neighbors, slaves, and

printed publications and include recipes for medicines, foods, wines, and beers; means of controlling flies, ants, moths, fleas, bedbugs, and mice; care of clothing and furniture; and information on farming practices, including veterinary medicine.

This volume adds materially to our knowledge of conditions on the Southern frontier in the prewar period.

The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859. By Norman F. Furniss. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960. xii, 311 pp. Indexed. \$5.00.) When the Mormons first settled the basin of the Great Salt Lake they found themselves free of close association with the Gentiles. But trouble began to develop soon after the establishment in 1850 of the Territory of Utah, a political entity under the jurisdiction of the national government. Due to the mounting tension President James Buchanan sent 2,400 officers and men under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston to Utah in 1857. The author here discusses the reasons for the military conquest, the experiences of the army, and significant events in the period immediately following the campaign. The volume includes a very fine bibliographical essay.

The Story of the Pony Express. Edited by Waddell F. Smith. (San Francisco: Hesperian House Book Publishers, Inc., 1960. xii, 195 pp. Indexed. \$5.00.) This volume, edited by a great-grandson of William Bradford Waddell, one of the founders of the Pony Express, brings together two earlier studies of that great Western venture, Glenn D. Bradley, *The Story of the Pony Express* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1913), and Raymond W. Settle, "The Pony Express: Heroic Effort—Tragic End," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (April 1959).

OBITUARIES

BROOKS, ROBERT B., St. Louis: March 17, 1889-April 30, 1960. Internationally known civil engineer. Member of State Highway Commission, 1937-1942. Former St. Louis city official.*

BRYAN, WILLIAM HARPER, St. Louis: April 4, 1892-February 14, 1959. President of Associated Hardware Company. Former St. Louis director of Office of Price Administration. Recipient in 1957 of Lay Churchman of the Year Award. Civic and organization leader.*

CAHOON, WILLIAM HAMBLIN, Knoxville, Tennessee: January 25, 1878-October 25, 1960.*

CHAMBERS, LAWRENCE ALLEN, SR., Independence: July 3, 1888-January 15, 1960.*

CORL, PEARL, Broomall, Pennsylvania: June 4, 1892-December 14, 1960.*

COSBY, BYRON, Columbia: February 27, 1878-February 3, 1961. Retired teacher and educator. Business Administrator of Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, 1910-1936.*

COUCH, WILLIAM M., Platte City: September 30, 1890-March 6, 1961. Farmer. Former Platte County official. State representative, 1957-1961.

CUNNINGHAM, H. SCOTT, Jackson, Mississippi: November 3, 1895-December 18, 1960. Employee of John Deere Implement Company since 1919; manager of Jackson plant since 1946.*

DOOLEY, THOMAS A., St. Louis: January 17, 1927-January 18, 1961. The "jungle doctor" who won international renown while providing medical assistance to underprivileged Asians. Author. A founder of MEDICO.

DULANY, GEORGE WILLIAM, JR., La Jolla, California: July 11, 1877-May 15, 1959.*

GIDEON, MRS. HELENA, St. Louis: October 4, 1903-June 25, 1960.*

GOW, TEVIS, Kearney: November 27, 1878-July 25, 1959. Church worker.*

HAVERSTICK, WALTER W., De Soto: January 28, 1897-January 29, 1960. President of American Bank. Organization and civic leader. Mechanical engineer.*

HUNTER, MRS. MARY MEDLEY, Cape Girardeau: January 7, 1878-January 30, 1961. Co-author of *The Joseph Hunter and Related Families*. Donor with Stephen B. Hunter of \$1,000 to the Society in 1954 in appreciation for its services.

JOHNSON, MRS. GEORGE D., Livonia, New York: February 1, 1870-December 18, 1960.*

KRUMSICK, GEORGE W., Washington: September 12, 1881-January 4, 1961. Veteran publisher. Former poultry raiser. Co-founder in 1905 of *Washington Citizen*; sole owner and publisher, 1937-1954. Civic leader.

LANDWEHR, FRANK, St. Louis: February 8, 1884-May 10, 1959. Attorney. Judge of circuit court in Eighth Circuit, St. Louis, 1919-1936.*

LEHMER, MRS. EDNA MIZE, Oregon: November 18, 1872-March 15, 1960. Organization worker.*

MCBAINE, JAMES PATTERSON, Berkeley, California: July 18, 1882-March 1, 1961. Attorney. Author. Member of faculty in University of Missouri School of Law, 1910-1928; dean, 1919-1928. President of Missouri Bar Association, 1926.*

McKITTRICK, ROY, Phoenix, Arizona: August 24, 1888-January 22, 1961. Missouri Attorney General, 1933-1945. State senator, 1931-1932. Former Salisbury and Chariton County official.

MUNN, CHARLES E., Tarkio: September 13, 1870-July 22, 1960. Retired insurance agent and theater operator.*

NACY, RICHARD R., Jefferson City: November 7, 1895-January 10, 1961. President of Central Missouri Trust Company. Chairman of State Bank Board. Delegate to State Constitutional Convention, 1943-1944. State treasurer, 1933-1937, 1948. Banking, civic, and Scouting leader.*

POINTER, FLOYD OSCAR, Kansas City: October 21, 1900-June 12, 1960.*

PORTER, CHARLES E., Festus: October 29, 1891-February 27, 1961. Realtor. Former bank cashier. Editor and publisher of *Festus News-Democrat*, 1939-1952.

RAMSEYER, MRS. EDNA, Kansas City: June 30, 1887-August 2, 1960.*

RAYBURN, OTTO E., Eureka Springs, Arkansas: May 6, 1891-October 31, 1960. Author; publisher; recognized authority on life and lore of Ozarks. Founder in 1943 and publisher of *Ozark Guide*.

ROBERTSON, WILLIAM M., Joplin: December 21, 1890-January 4, 1961. Founder in 1922 and president of R & S Motor Sales

Company. Member of State Highway Commission, 1955-1961. Bank director. Civic, business, and conservation leader.*

ROBINSON, THOMAS D., Canon City, Colorado: October 16, 1880-November 3, 1960.*

SIMS, L. ROY, SR., Fairfax: February 23, 1889-December 11, 1960. Editor of the *Fairfax Forum* since 1934. A former publisher at Prairie Hill; Salisbury; New Cambria; Hamburg, Iowa; Burlington Junction; Mound City; Skidmore; and South Kansas City. A LIFE editor member.*

SMITH WILLIAM OSCAR, New Bloomfield: September 6, 1877-February 21, 1961. Retired farmer and realtor. State representative, 1927-1931.

SULLIVAN, STEPHEN H., JR., Sullivan: August 16, 1882-February 27, 1961. Businessman. Fraternal and civic leader.*

WOODEN, PEARL, Dawn: March 5, 1888-December 24, 1960. Community and church leader.*

*A member of the Society.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

A CHANCE TO HOLD HIS SWEETHEART

From *The Lexington Intelligencer*, August 5, 1876.

Page's picnic has gotten to be one of the institutions of our county, and comes off every year with the regularity of clock work. . . .

Last Saturday was the day set for this occasion, and bright and early our citizens began to hunt for conveyances. The Pacific railroad ran an excursion train to the grounds, and quite a delegation of Lexington people went that way; while there was a long procession of wagons, buggies, and horsemen. . . . When we reached the grounds, at 10 o'clock, we found about 500 persons already there, and the tide was still running in, and by 12 o'clock the crowd was estimated at from 1,000 to 1,300 persons. . . .

On the ground the first thing to attract our attention was a revolving swing, which was under canvas, and had a mule hitched to one beam, and the passengers or swingers were revolving at a break-neck rate. It was a good chance for a brave young man to hold his timid sweetheart to his manly bosom, and many availed themselves of this opportunity.

NO NEED FOR STEAM!

From the *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, October 17, 1874.

Talk about your steam threshers, lightning calculators and little giant cob-snatchers. Our countyman, J. F. Lupton, last Monday, with the aid of one man and a boy, gathered, shucked and hauled 13 wagon-loads of corn, of 4 barrels each—an aggregate of 52 barrels. What's the use of steam, when elbow-grease and muscular git-up-and-git-ativeness can move the world, sweep the harvest-fields like a saving tornado, and if need be hide the stars in a begum hat? If any gentleman has a bigger or better day's work in drouthy-year corn, to report, let him speak now or forever hold his peace.

THE PEER OF ALL TEMPERANCE BEVERAGES

From the *Brookfield Linn County Budget*, October 17, 1913.

A good Substitute.—Manitou, the peer of all temperance beverages, looks like beer, smells like beer, put up in pints like beer, "The Incomparable," absolutely pure, healthful and refreshing drink. Sold at Gleason's.

If you neglect to lay in your Sunday supply of the real thing, try this substitute.

A FIRST-CLASS ICE CREAM SALOON

From *The Kansas City Enterprise*, June 27, 1857.

Ice Cream.—It will be seen from the advertisement of Mr. Kessler, that he has fitted up a first-class ice cream saloon, expressly for the accommodation of the ladies. It is in a quiet and retired portion of the town, and is finely lighted and

carpeted. If our young men have not sufficient gallantry to invite the ladies to his saloon we hope the ladies themselves will take the matter in hand and show the proprietor that his care for their entertainment shall not be unacknowledged.

"DEAR OLD GOLDEN RULE DAYS"

From the *Branson Ozarks Mountaineer*, March, 1957. "How School Was Taught In Pioneer Days," by S. C. Turnbo. Courtesy of Springfield Art Museum, owner of the Turnbo Manuscript Collection.

An early school as it was taught in Ripley County, Mo. was told me by W. J. (Bill) Adams of Protom, Mo. He said that his father Renoni Adams moved from Indiana to Ripley County in 1844, during the following year when he was 7 years old he was sent to a subscription school taught by an old man of the name of White. Said Mr. Adams, "The school house stood one mile west of Current River. It was a very small log hut floored with puncheons and contained split logs for seats. A sort of platform that answered for a writing desk reached across one end of the house, and a split log was used for the scholars to sit on while they were at the desk learning to write. We used goose quills for writing pens and made ink of black jack by putting the stuff in a pot full of water and boiling it down nearly as thick as thin syrup, then strained and added copers to the fluid and it was ready for use. I cannot call to mind now the names of any of the children who attended this school besides myself, only I remember that some of Mr. Merrill's children went but I do recollect some of the rules and regulations of that school. We used the old elementary spelling book and we spelled out so loud that we were heard a quarter of a mile from the school house. The teacher threatened us with a big club that he kept by the door. When we became too idle the teacher would grab up this club or long stick and strike the floor a hard blow with it and exclaim in a loud voice, "Get your lessons." This threat would cause us to be quite busy at our books for a while then we would get slack again and he would repeat the stroke with the stick which would encourage us to learn our lessons better for a short time again. He would not punish us but little only he would scold us very hard sometimes."

"BACKWARD, TURN BACKWARD, OH, TIME IN THY FLIGHT"

From the *Lamar Democrat*, September 6, 1957.

You may not be able to remember back a century, or even three-quarters of a century, but you are an old-timer if you can recall when nobody in small towns or country homes had central heating and kids dressed by the fireplace, the living room base-burner or the cookstove on chilly mornings; when you took a hot iron, wrapped in paper or cloths, to bed with you on wintry nights; . . . when crockery under the bed was standard bedroom equipment; when you studied your lessons by coal oil lamplight on the kitchen table; . . . when milk and butter were hung in the well in warm weather and often a bucketful was lost in the cistern, spoiling the water; when kids had the seven year itch and sometimes got lousy from playing with trashy young-uns at school; . . . when they gave kids sheep-shot tea to make measles break out; when your ma saturated a woolen cloth with turpentine and lard and pinned it around your throat at night to ward off the croup; when you wore a little bag of asafoetida around your neck to prevent contagious diseases

and when some boys who wet the bed slept in their clothes and made a terrible stink when they stood too long by the school house stove.

And you're not a youngster any more if you can recall when fried chicken was a standard breakfast dish and when sorghum molasses was a household staple; . . . when an old phonograph with a big morning-glory horn was more to be desired and appreciated than the finest TV set today; when preachers boarded around among the bretheren during revivals and got all the best part of the chicken; when kids had to wait for the second table and darn near starved when company came for Sunday dinner; . . .

And maybe you have earned your money to buy licorice whips, all day suckers and jaw-breakers by hunting up old rubber overshoes, whiskey bottles and old copper and brass and selling them to the junk man. Those were the days when the old fashioned medicine show, with an Indian "chief" or a black face comedian, made week long stands in your town, putting on free shows and selling the most astonishing cures for every disease or ailment that human flesh is heir to; when there weren't even any movies, but magic lantern shows, showing colored still pictures; when boys tick-tacked newcomers and easily frightened residents with terrifying noise-making devices at night.

Then, you'll remember when babies were born at home and on a featherbed and not in a city hospital; when most country people had to send a man on a fast horse to bring the doctor when there was sickness; . . . when the hired man worked for four or five dollars a week and his board and a horse or mule to ride on Sunday; . . . when you hitched your horse or team to a fence or post and went in, hat in hand, to escort your best girl out to the buggy, instead of driving up and honking like a taxi driver; . . . when the wolf whistle at a pretty girl on the street was an insult instead of a compliment; . . . when little boys wore long curls till ready to start to school and short pants till almost ready for college and, last, but not least, when shinny was about the most popular outdoor sport for boys.

THE WAY SHE SAW IT

From the *Lexington Weekly Caucasian*, October 17, 1874. Extracted from "The Truth At Last; An Interview With the Mother of the Famous James Boys."

. . . The door of the reception-room opened; and we found ourself in the presence of the mother and step-sister of Missouri's dread raiders. Mrs. Samuel is a tall, dignified lady of about forty-eight years; graceful in carriage and gesture; calm and quiet in demeanor, with a ripple of fire now and then breaking through the placid surface; and of far more than average intelligence and culture. She converses well, using faultlessly pure English. She wore a plain brown calico, neatly made, and a gold-band breast-pin containing a likeness of one of her sons. . . . Some little mutual surprise was expressed when we met; each expecting to see a decidedly rougher creature. Mrs. Samuel gave us a thrilling account of the adventures and suffering of herself and family during the war; and good-humoredly narrated many laughable incidents in her own experience, since her boys came under the country's ban.

At the commencement of the war Frank joined General Price. Not long afterward some depredations were committed by guerillas, in the neighborhood of their home, near Kearney, in Clay county. A company of federal troops came out and scoured the country. They hung Mr. Samuel up till he was nearly dead, to

force him to tell the whereabouts of men of whom he knew nothing; then dragged him off to prison; and made him a helpless invalid, as he is to-day. Little Jesse, then only fifteen years old, was seized in the field where he was at work, a rope put round his neck, and instant death threatened, to make him confess things of which he had never even heard. And, in a short time afterward, Mrs. Samuel herself was taken from a sick bed, and confined to a filthy prison-cell, first in Liberty, then in Plattsburg, and finally in St. Joe. Jesse soon escaped and joined his brother; and from that day forth they became a terror to their foes wherever they were known. They courted danger, and gladly plunged into every desperate service. The black-flag warfare of Quantrell and Bill Anderson suited them; and they participated in many of the most bloody frays of those fierce chieftains. When they went home after the surrender, they were driven to the brush by [Governor Thomas C.] Fletcher Loyalists, and from that time on their history is the wildest, maddest mass of fact, fiction, and impossibility that imagination can conceive or pen portray.

Mrs. Samuel, in the course of the conversation, several times repeated: "No mother ever had better sons; more affectionate, obedient and dutiful." And she solemnly declared, that every story of robbery and wrong by her boys, since last spring, at least, is not only utterly false but impossible. *They are both in Mexico, and have been for months. . . .*

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society, January, 1961: "A New Lewis and Clark Map," by Donald Jackson; "Joseph Charles, Father of Missouri Journalism," by William H. Lyon; "Marmaduke's First Missouri Raid," by Stephen B. Oates; "Service With the Public Service Commission," by Edwin J. Bean; "Carondelet Formerly and Now: Part Two," by Gustav Heinrichs, translated by M. Heinrichsmeyer.

Historic Preservation, XII, 4, 1960: "Pershing's Boyhood Home."

Indiana Magazine of History, December, 1960: "Overland from St. Louis to the California Gold Field in 1849: The Diary of Joseph Waring Berrien," edited by Ted and Caryl Hinckley.

Journal of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association, Fall, 1960: "Mark Twain Today," by Arthur L. Scott; "The Mark Twain Memorial in Hartford, Connecticut," by Norman Holmes Pearson; "Mark Twain and the Sirens of Progress," by Sherwood Cummings; "Mark Twain and the Philippines: Containing an Unpublished Letter," by Morton N. Cohen; "Mark Twain and the Roman Catholic Church," by Aurele A. Durocher.

Museum Graphic, Winter, 1961: "More About the Pony Express," by Roy E. Coy; "Alexander Doniphan and Xenophon," by Bartlett Boder; "Colonel Alexander Doniphan and Jane Thornton"; "Colonel Alexander Doniphan"; "Rose Marie and Thomas Howard," by Bartlett Boder.

New Mexico Historical Review, January, 1961: "Solomon Perry Sublette: Mountain Man of the Forties," by John E. Sunder.

Ozarks Mountaineer, December, 1960: "Ozarks' Noted Author, Mansfield's Laura Ingall Wilder"; "Unusual Names of Our Rural Communities [Hog Eye]"; "The Splendid Heritage of Verona and Lawrence County."

_____, February, 1961: "A Big Spring Gave Birth to Humansville, Delightful Old Community"; "Unusual Names of Our Rural Communities [Doolittle]"; "Old Hoyle, Now No More, Was One of Ten Mills in Dade County," by Alvin R. Jones; "A Railroad in Creating Rogersville Destroyed the Nearby Older Town of Henderson."

Pacific Historian, November, 1960: "From Hannibal to the Gold Fields in 1849: The Reminiscences of Charles C. Brady," edited by Glenn Price.

Reader's Digest, March, 1961: "A Rose for Cape Girardeau," by Daniel Longwell.

Tradition, February, 1961: "Mark Twain Visits Russia," by Frank M. Flack.

Westerners Brand Book, Chicago Corral, December, 1960: "An Evening With Mark Twain," by George-William Smith.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

The State Historical Society of Missouri offers the following publications for sale:

Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875. Edited by Isidor Loeb and Floyd C. Shoemaker. 12 vols., 1930-1944. Complete sets sent by express collect, \$15.00.

Journal Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, With an Historical Introduction on Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri by Isidor Loeb . . . and a Biographical Account of the Personnel of the Convention by Floyd C. Shoemaker. 2 vols., 1920. \$2.75 a set, postpaid.

Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri. 18 vols., 1922-1957. Vols. I-VI sold only in complete sets, \$35.00. Vols. VII-XVIII, \$5.00 each. Complete or partial sets sent by express collect.

Missouri, Day by Day. Edited by Floyd C. Shoemaker. 2 vols., 1942-1943. \$4.25 a set, postpaid.

Missouri Historical Review. 54 volumes, 1906-1960. Unbound set, \$192.50. Complete or partial sets sent by express collect.

Missouri Historical Review. Published quarterly by the Society and current issues sent free to all members of the Society upon payment of the Annual membership dues of \$1.00 or Life membership of \$20.00.

Missouri Historical Review, Index to Volumes 1-25 (October, 1906-July, 1931). 1934. \$10.00, postpaid.

Missouri Historical Review, Index to Volumes 26-45 (October, 1931-July, 1951). 1955. \$10.00, postpaid.

Ozark Folksongs. Collected and Edited by Vance Randolph and edited for the State Hist. Soc. of Mo. by Floyd C. Shoemaker and Frances G. Emberson. 4 vols., 1946-1950. Sold only in complete sets, \$15.80, postpaid.

The State Historical Society of Missouri, A Semicentennial History. By Floyd C. Shoemaker. 1948. \$3.50, postpaid,

Order from: State Historical Society of Missouri
Hitt and Lowry Streets
Columbia, Missouri

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If you are interested in the historic past of Missouri, either as a "producer" or "consumer" of history, you are invited to apply for membership in The State Historical Society of Missouri. Annual dues are \$1.00, and the *Missouri Historical Review* is sent free to all members. Life membership is \$20.00.

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Columbia, Missouri

GENTLEMEN:

I should like to apply for membership in The State Historical Society of Missouri and receive the *Missouri Historical Review*.

Signed

Address

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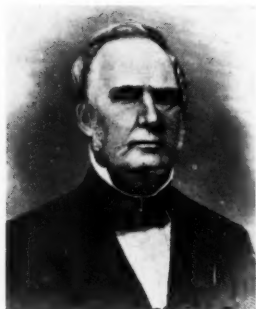
I enclose \$1.00

I enclose \$20.00

Executive Department,
 Jefferson City, ^{Mo.} ~~Missouri~~.
 April 17, 1861.
 Hon Simon Cameron, Sec &c.
 Washington, D. C.
 Sir:-
 Your requisition is illegal,
 unconstitutional and revolutionary;
 in its object inhuman & diabolical.
 Not one man will Missouri furnish
 to carry on any such ~~unhappy~~
 Crusade against her Southern
 Ties. Respectfully,
 C. F. Jackson

This is a photograph of the frequently quoted letter written by
 Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson to Secretary of War Simon
 Cameron in response to his request of April 15, 1861, for State
 Militia troops to enforce Federal law in the seceded states.

The Society recently acquired the original through the courtesy
 of the Board of Managers of Arrow Rock Tavern.



FAMOUS
PERSONAGES OF
THE CIVIL WAR
IN MISSOURI

Sterling Price

Sterling Price, a Douglas Democrat and conditional Union man, was chosen president of the State Convention of 1860 and approved that convention's action in voting down proposals which would lead to secession. After the convention adjourned, however, the policies of aggressive Unionists drove him into the Southern camp, and Governor Jackson soon placed him in command of State troops.

After the failure of the conference at Planter's Hotel in June, 1861, Price hurried to Jefferson City to launch his retreat to Southwest Missouri. In August he temporarily united forces with General Ben McCulloch's Confederate army to defeat the Union forces at Wilson's Creek, a victory which greatly increased his popularity.

Price next moved north to capture Lexington in September, 1861, but was soon obliged to retreat into Arkansas. After participating at Pea Ridge, he accepted a Confederate commission. Later in the war he was defeated at Iuka and Corinth, Mississippi, and at Helena, Arkansas. He turned back a Union force, however, at Red River. His final military effort, a raid through Missouri in September and October, 1864, achieved initial success but was halted at Westport.

General Price has been charged with unwarranted ambitions for high office in the Confederacy and with disrespect and lack of obedience to his superiors. His friends have insisted, however, that these charges are unfounded and that he failed to receive the recognition which he deserved.

General Price was born in Virginia on September 20, 1809, attended nearby Hampden-Sydney College in 1826-1827, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. In 1831 he moved to Fayette, Missouri, and after working in Salisbury and Keytesville he purchased a nearby farm. Chariton County sent Price to the General Assembly in 1836-1838 and 1840-1844 (he served as Speaker of the House in the latter period), and he represented Missouri in Congress from March 4, 1845, to August 12, 1846, when he resigned to enter the Mexican War as a colonel in the Second Missouri Regiment of Mounted Infantry. He soon became military governor of Chihuahua and was promoted to Brigadier General of Volunteers. Price also served as Governor of Missouri from 1853 to 1857 and as State Bank Commissioner from 1857 to 1861.

Sterling Price died in St. Louis on September 29, 1867, and was buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery.

